778 The sacred ones are used only during the great ceremonies, usually the
103 Narra for the great majority of totems. It is then that all the wells of a
moiety and the names of its dead ancestors are called out by the leader.
[562 The camp name is the one known by both men and women. No woman
knows the sacred name of a well, or, for that matter, anything else that
has to do with the sacred tribal life.

103 The list on page 46 shows that the chief totem of the Liaalaomir
778 clan is a carpet snake. The names of the well are carpet snake's nose
614 and menstruation blood, the latter referring indirectly to the actions of
the snake.

The Djirin clan has the shark for a totem (see list, page 45), and the following names for its well: shark's head, ripples from a shark's swimming, hill from a tidal wave made by the shark when he created this country.

Although the well names refer to a totem which belongs to the other clans in the moiety, they also refer in particular to geographical aspects of one clan's territory, so that they have local significance. The same is true of the names of the mythological ancestors.

553 A man's name is taken from his male mari (mother's mother's brother) and his male marikmo (father's father). All sacred names are his marikmo's and not his mari's, but a man's camp names come chiefly from his mari; these latter also usually reflect totemic affiliation.

[778 The symbol of the well is also painted on a man after his initiation
302] and when he receives his totemic name in the Narra corroboree, and
on a small boy when he is to be circumcised.

601 In addition to the relatives listed on page 16 as always included in
the clan, there may be included within the clan: mari, male and female
614 (mother's mother and mother's mother's brother); mokul rumeru
(mother's mother's brother's daughter); marelker (mother's mother's brother's son); kutara, male and female (sister's daughter's son and sister's daughter's daughter); gurrong, male and female (father's sister's daughter's son and father's sister's daughter's daughter).

601 These relatives, too, may be blood or tribal in their relationship to
ego. Men, for example, may be called brothers by ego and be clan
611 members only remotely related to ego. The usual Murngin method
of reckoning kin does not always operate within the clan, for, when there have been wrong marriages,[12] the practice of tracing descent through the mother and ignoring the father does not function. This

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[12] See pages 105-106.

583 as husband and wife. They have been copulating before, frequently
[836] with the knowledge of the father and mother, but the latter pretend
ignorance.

Usually an older man with a wife or two acquires a young woman
in her adolescent period. A young girl often starts living in her
[591] husband's household before menstruation. The dué usually takes her for
fear of having her stolen from her parents by some other dué. He has
no intercourse with her during this period. When the girl is old
833 enough he may without ceremony start actual intercourse. Or he
may take her out into the bush on the ruse that they are going fishing.
He asks her to get some drinking water or some wood. While she is
gone he ties a small piece of opossum fur string around his index
finger, and when she comes back he asks her to lie down. He places
the finger inside her vagina; then they return to camp, and sexual
intercourse starts. This minor ceremony is not frequently practiced.

841 When an older man takes a pre-adolescent girl he helps the mother
perform the ceremony at her first menstruation. After this is over the
[302] husband paints her with red ochre (this is always done for mourners
after the death of a relative to avoid ceremonial uncleanliness, and is
used in ceremonies).

841 Ordinarily there is but little taboo on a menstruating woman. She
sleeps in the same house or camp with her husband, though the couple
773 do not copulate. The only restriction in daily life is that no man would
allow a wife or any other woman to go out in a canoe with him during this period, for otherwise the great mythical snake, Bapa Indi (the Great Father), would swallow them all. The story is told that not so long ago a man took his two wives in a canoe for a trip from one island to another. One of them was menstruating. When they had gone for a short time Yurlunggur (Bapa Indi) smelt the unclean odor, came out of the subterranean depths, and swallowed them all. This modern folk tale, which is believed by all Murngin, fits into the tribe's most fundamental myth of the two old creator sisters.

582 The above describes how a man ordinarily obtains a wife and what usually happens; but often a woman is not taken from her parents for some time because her future husband may be away in the country of a more distant clan. Various men may also dispute the right to her, owing to a gawel's exceeding his rights by promising her to several men, or because of a wrong marriage of the mokul or gawel, with the true gurrong of mokul demanding the daughter and the true waku of gawel claiming her. If the marriage had been according to

For a few days a mother carries her newborn child under her arm 854
in a strip of paper bark. At this time she covers it with charcoal to
make it turn black, for it is very light when born and it is thought [302
that it will stay that color unless so painted. In a short time she holds 856]
her infant on her shoulder, its legs straddling her neck and its arms clinging to her head. She carries her children out into the bush with her while she gathers the plants, or shell food, for the family larder.
When the little boy is about four years old he stays in camp with the 857
other little ones. But the young girls continue going with their 868
mothers, who during this early period start teaching them the countless things they must know about the fauna and flora, the land and
the sea, in order to become good food-gatherers. When a boy is to be 852
circumcised the mother always makes presents to the man who paints [431
his body for the ceremony. When the son kills his first kangaroo or 777]
emu, the bones are painted and she carries them as she does those of a dead relative. This is to bring the son good luck in the hunt.

If the son's fathers are dead, the mother is sometimes consulted as to the proper time to circumcise him. When the boy returns from his journey to all the local clans, inviting them to come to his circumcision ceremony, it is she who brags about the number of presents given him. She always exaggerates because it is felt that this will also be
helpful for the son in acquiring the good things in later life. While [152]
he is being circumcised she cries and beats herself. The actions are customary, but they are more than that to the mother, who is deeply
affected when she hears her son's cries. The sisters to the mother act [604
in the same way during this ceremony. A mother seldom corrects her 861]
child, this being left for mari and nati to do.

When a child is hurt or dead a mother always cuts and beats her 765
head to show her grief. After the child is buried she paints herself 302
with red ocher to cleanse herself of ceremonial impurity so that she can go out for wood and food with the other women. She waits until after burial to paint herself because the body would not decompose if she did it before. After the bones have been prepared for dispersal among the women she is one of the carriers and is usually the first to get them.

The child sees the mother's sisters as arndi not only because they are 604
her sisters but because the father may die and the mother will be 587
transferred to a younger brother of the father, or an older brother may die and his wives will be given to the child's father. In both cases the women would be arndi as wives to the child's father.

seven by narrup, three by milwerangel, and two by nirimaoi yolno. Although the last is the most frequent type of fight, it seldom results in killings; gaingar, on the other hand, has happened only twice in the last twenty years, yet it has accounted for the deaths of twenty-nine men. 628

The wooden or stone-headed spear, the spear-thrower and the club, as well as the stone knife, are used in these engagements. The spear is the chief weapon, although in camp fights clubs play a prominent part. The stone axe, which is primarily utilized as an implement, also serves as a weapon. No shield is found here. The Murngin depend on the spear thrower to ward off spears and on their well-developed agility to avoid thrusts. In all fights except the nirimaoi yolno and the narrup, the people coat themselves with war paint of white clay. 411 [302]

Nirimaoi Yolno

Nirimaoi fights are very frequent and are usually the result of quarrels caused by adultery or the husband's belief that someone has been attempting to make him a cuckold. The injured man goes to the camp of the lover and accuses him. He carries a bundle of spears and possibly a club with him. Words follow, swearing starts, and indignation is felt on both sides. Relatives of each contestant help him if the quarrel is felt to be very serious. The women usually attempt to hold the arms of the men to stop the fight from becoming too serious, meanwhile cursing the opponents of their brothers and husbands. At times, however, women pick up their digging sticks or a man's club and help their male relatives; very occasionally a woman is wounded and in certain very rare cases killed. 578 152

The nirimaoi yolno fight seldom results in anyone's being killed. Friends of both parties always stand back of the men and hit the spear-throwers or hold them when the fighters attempt to hurl their spears at each other. The contestants usually depend upon this and talk much "harder" (dal) to each other than they would if they knew that they were going to be allowed to have free play at each other. They increase their own sense of importance through the interest of others in their actions and possess a feeling that they are much braver warriors and are filled with a much more intense desire to kill than they would have if no one interfered. By remonstrating with their friends and struggling to get free from them, they are able to vent their outraged emotions and prove to the community that no one can infringe upon their rights without a valiant effort being made to prevent it. Obviously

"Run and get some paper bark and make a basket," said the older Wawilak man. 773

They gathered two baskets of blood, and went to the dance grounds. They made a bush house on part of the ground that represents the snake's tail.

"You take all the hawk's feathers, bush cotton, and this blood, and we'll paint ourselves. You do this, and I shall go cut a hollow log and make a Yurlunggur trumpet."

Each did his task. The hollow ridgepole from the Wawilak sisters' house was used for the trumpet totemic emblem of Yurlunggur.

The sun went down. They left the blood till morning. They slept, and while they were in a deep sleep they dreamed of what the two women sang and danced when they were trying to keep Yurlunggur from swallowing them. The Wawilak women came back as spirits and taught the two men the Djungguan songs and dances that are for the outside general camp, and the inside ones that are for the men's camp. They told the men the way to do the Marndiella, Gunabibi and Ulmark ceremonies. They sang Yurlunggur and Muit. The men slept on and dreamed that Yurlunggur brought out all the iguanas from the Mirrirmina well. (See Djungguan ritual, pages 283 to 284.)

The two sisters said to men, "This is all now. We are giving you this dream so you can remember these important things. You must never forget these things we have told you tonight. You must remember every time each year these songs and dances. You must paint with blood and feathers for Marndiella, Gunabibi and Djungguan. You must dance all the things we saw and named on our journey, and which ran away into the well."

After the men danced the new dances and ceremonies for the first time they went back to their own country. "We dance these things now, because our Wongar ancestors learned them from the two Wawilak sisters."

THE DJUNGGUAN CEREMONY

The great ceremonies all take place in the dry season, and always on the men's ceremonial grounds. Actual participation is only by initiated men, although the women, not allowed in the ceremonial grounds and not thought of by the men as in the ceremony, play an important rôle. 796

All the ceremonies are associated with age grading, as being participated in by men initiated into certain age grades, or serving to initiate a man into a higher status; and all are associated with moiety or clan totems. [561 614 616]

All the rituals have ceremonial leaders. The participants paint themselves with sacred totemic designs and usually employ feather orna- 796 302

796 302 [534] ments, the decorations ordinarily varying from one ceremony to another. Musical instruments are used—a drum, a wooden trumpet, singing sticks, or bull roarer.

A fundamental conceptual scheme runs through all the ceremonies; the various dramatic sections portray the myth by dance and song. For the western European, this whole totemic ceremonial behavior might be compared to a Wagnerian opera, with the myth as libretto; the motifs, like that of the snake swallowing the women, first expressed in a phrase or two, are later elaborated; and certain motifs, highly elaborate in some of the ceremonies, are only hinted at in others. For the reason that here we have ceremonies treated separately by the natives which they yet realize fit into a larger whole, the totality may, without too much stretching, be compared to the Nibelungen Ring. The fundamental difference is that the story is not a myth to them but a dogma and has the same ceremonial significance to the Murngin as the Mass to a believing Catholic.

852 Shortly after the rainy season is ended, the waters of the many lakes are receding, and the long dry period of plenty begins, the various clans of the Murngin and other northeastern Arnhem Land tribes perform their principal interclan circumcision, the Djungguan, which also serves as a *rite de passage* for the older boys.

A. The Preliminaries

1. Yurlunggur is made; its first blowing announces that a Djungguan has started.
2. The little boys are taken from their mothers. They are decorated and sent on a journey.
3. The camp is divided into its sacred and profane sections. The Warn-gai-tja is made and placed in the main camp.

1. When the leader of the Djungguan has conferred with his blood brothers, the other old men of the clan, and usually the older men of the surrounding friendly clans, upon the advisability of having a Djungguan, the ceremony starts. A number of the older men go out
852 into the surrounding bush and pick out a small tree the core of which
534 has been eaten out by termites so that only a thin outer layer of the trunk remains. This is cut down, cleaned out, and formed into a large trumpet, which in a later section of the ceremony (E) is painted, and becomes a totemic emblem representative of the great python deity, Yurlunggur. It is then taken to the old men's ground and placed

852 777 its magical effect, to insure the boys' acquiring many presents on the journey on which they are sent by the older men, and to enable them always to have plenty of good things during their lives. The above quotation is not a formula and is varied according to the speaker.

852 574 484 The two boys, with a near relative such as an older dué (sister's husband, father's sister's son), are sent out (at times this does not occur), usually on separate paths, to visit the various relatives and clans to invite them to the coming ceremony. The relatives of the boys who are present at the time they are sent away and who belong to outside clans are always desirous that the initiates visit their clans. The father chooses a trail for the boy to follow, but the man who accompanies and protects the boy usually modifies the father's directions to fit the circumstances of the journey.

The neophytes usually stay away a month, but their journey may last two moons, or less than one. If they leave when the moon is full they return when there is a new moon. In later years a man always boasts about the many clans he visited, the great distances he traveled, the long period he was absent on his journey.

The young men are sent away, it is said by the old Murngin men, so that they will meet new people, which is felt to be a good thing, and make lifelong friends among their more distant classificatory relatives. This ritualistic making of friends is not organized among these people as highly as in West Australia, nor does the path followed by the boy occupy as important a place in his later life as it does in West Australian regions.

One Wessel Island boy of the Perango clan went down through Elcho Island, where he visited the clan of that country, through Arnhem Bay and into the country of the Gwiyamil clan.[11] A candidate for initiation from the Wangurri clan went overland to the Barlamomo of Blue Mud Bay.

852 302 381 291 Before leaving, the boys are given new armlets which are then painted with white clay; white cockatoo feather headdresses are put on them, and their faces are daubed with white paint. Usually a white clay bark band is tied around the forehead. Red ocher and kangaroo fat with a white clay outline are put on the boys' faces. A large hair belt, suspended from which is a painted opossum fur string pubic covering, is put on the initiate for the first time. Before this he has gone completely nude, as do all uncircumcised boys.

852 574 431 Wherever the boy goes on his journey the people are informed of the coming ceremony and invited to attend. All those who are invited give

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[11] See the clan and tribal map, page 40.

852 circumcised and a few of the older men, who stand outside at the head
of the dance ground. The old men tell the initiates the meaning of
535 the dances. The little boys stand, each with the men's basket under
his arm, with the string handle over the left shoulder, in the manner
of grown men.

The entire Djungguan song cycle is repeated during all the time the boys are away to invite others to their circumcision and from two to four weeks after their return. The dances vary slightly, and occasionally a few new elements are introduced into the main camp ceremony.

852 Sometimes an old woman, usually the initiate's mother's mother
881 (mari), goes through the camp snatching the men's spears from them
and threatening the younger women with the weapons. She is taking a threefold rôle in this ritual act: (1) expressing the antagonism of the women's division of the sex and age structure toward the men's division; (2) disciplining the younger women and thereby increasing the solidarity of the women's division; and (3) acting the part of a very old woman, which gives her special privileges, since old women are "more like a man" (see page 102 on the relationship of older mothers-in-law to their sons-in-law).

852 On certain nights (there is no regular order), several fires are built
outside the python dance ground in a line running from the python's
535 anus, and several inside the triangle. After having left the warngaitja circle and starting their ceremony on the python ground, the men, instead of dancing wallaby and kangaroo, dance hawk and rock kangaroo. The fires are built, say the natives, to chase the rock kangaroos out of their hiding places, and when the hawks see the fires they appear as they do when the natives light bush fires to hunt kangaroos.

The hawks cry, "Kawk! Kawk! Kawk!" They carry under each
armpit green bushes or paper bark which they shake in imitation of
hawks flying, and they carry their spear-throwers to represent the
birds' tails while they dance between the fires. They are plastered with
[302] white clay. A white band of clay covers the face from the eyebrows to
the bridge of the nose and runs from ear to ear. Another band of clay
extends laterally from jaw to jaw beneath the mouth and across the
chin. The upper arms, trunk, and upper legs are daubed with parallel
lines of birds' down made fast with human blood.

The rock kangaroos dance first, followed by the hawks. Both stamp

Warumeri well, they come back to the ranga and go inside of it and 852
into the well." 796

The souls of women likewise return: "When a woman dies she 775
becomes a Bir-im-bir [spirit] Wongar and goes to the same well as a man. She can come back to her ranga and is like those two old Wawilak sisters."

When the men come out and take the boy away from the women, 852
they are the snake or the flood and the women are the Wongar
women who made the first camp. On the last evening when the men 796
come out they stop at the edge of the camp and they sing rain. When 535
the boys are left under the piles of bushes they are the children of the 773
Wawilak women. "Those boys left there alone are all the same as those babies that were born to the Wongar women. They left their babies there the same way to dance: the women dancing around the Warngaitja mean that." When the men stand with their spears around the pole they sing rain, which means that the flood has come, and when they pull the warngaitja out of the ground and rush away and the others take the bushes off the boys and run away with them to the men's ground, the chorus sings flood. "That means that the flood came and took these two yam sticks and carried them away."—"A flood takes them away after the rain, that is why we sing Wa—wa—wa. That means that the flood water is running."

"When the boys lie there and the men pull the bushes off them that means that snake spitting them up. They are spirits now." (This refers to the first time the python swallows the two women.)

F. The Last Dances in the Men's Ground 852

1. The dancers are painted with human blood. 302●
2. The boys who are to be circumcised are painted.
3. The initiates are shown the dances of the animals and the triangular ground and are instructed.
4. The older boys who have run away are caught and Yurlunggur comes out of the well and is shown to them.

1. The climax of the ceremony occurs next day. All the men paint with the blood that has been let the day before. The bloodletting occurs one day before the circumcision rite instead of the same day, because the exposure to the air gives the blood a more adhesive quality.

The blood is now sacred and powerful. It is, say the natives, as if it 852
were a totemic emblem in itself. It has the power of Yurlunggur in 302
it because he blew over the blood-giver. It is also powerful because the 778

852 leader walks among the men, who are decorating themselves with
302 birds' down to take the part of various birds and animals in the
778 coming ceremonial dances, and sings a song over their heads. He sings
the taboo names of the creature the man is painting himself to represent. This makes the design and the man magically powerful.

852 One end of a small green stick from any tree is chewed into a
brush and dipped into the blood, and the blood is painted over the
302 body of the man to form the various designs used by the dancers. The paper bark dropped into the blood the day before is also used as a brush. Two men usually paint each other at the same time. The old men paint in the old men's camp, and the younger men go off by themselves. If the old men so desire, they may paint outside where the young men do. They do not let the neophytes see them decorate themselves for the ceremony.

2. The boys who are to be circumcised are painted on the dance
ground by older men. The totemic design of the clan is placed on
[824] each candidate's chest and abdomen, with the juice of an orchid bulb
as the adhesive; blood is never used because it is magically too power-
[431] ful for an uncircumcised boy. The man who paints the boy is always
given a present by the father and mother. The neophytes are then led by the older men to the head of the snake ground. Sweat from the armpit of an old man (almost as powerful as blood) is rubbed on the eyelids of the boys to strengthen their eyes for the coming ceremony.

852 3. The division of dances that follows on this day of the circum-
535 cision is on a moiety basis. Dua men dance Dua animals and plants,
616 Yiritja men dance Yiritja objects that belong to their world of culture,
man and nature.

Two men run in with their spears fixed to their spear-throwers and
852 point them straight at the boys as if they were going to throw them.
535 The men have their baskets in their mouths as they often do when fighting. They return to the bush and rush in a second and third time. They are supposed to be fighting men and also catfish. The word for catfish is the same as that for one variety of fighters. The leader sings catfish while the men dance. Several old men stand beside the boys to instruct them and to prevent their running away.—Each group of dancers bows before the initiates just previous to leaving the dance ground.

After the "catfish" have retired, one man comes in dancing, carrying his spear-thrower and shaking it as if it were a bird's tail. He is a willy-wagtail. He pretends to pick flies off the branches of the trees

852 [302] down. The bushes are pulled back from the "Mirrirmina well." All the men painted like iguanas lie in it on their backs with a symbol of the iguana painted on their abdomens. Yurlunggur, the trumpet, lies among them with one man blowing it. The trumpet is played over an iguana while he crawls on his belly out of the well and on to the dance ground. The trumpet then goes back for another and continues until all the iguanas are out of the well and in a line at the apex of the triangular dance ground. A trumpeter then repeats the last activity and brings the iguanas one by one before the line of initiates. The trumpeters then place the trumpet at the feet of the initiates and before the iguanas who are now kneeling in a line.

Each initiate is asked to try to blow the trumpet. Then the old men command all of them to "respect their fathers and mothers," "never to tell lies," "not to run after women who do not belong to them," "not to divulge any of the secrets of the men to the women, men who belong to a lower division of the association, or uninitiated boys," and all in all to live up to the tribal code.

852 535 113 *Native Interpretation.*—Kaitjimbal (large gray kangaroo) is repeated a number of times because, said the leaders, "We have to get in all the clan countries where he has totems." This is partly a rationalization: it is true he has rangas in a great number of places; but most of the other animals which are danced are also found in a large number of clan holes, yet they are not repeated so frequently. The use of the Yiritja kangaroo in the dance sequence shows that Yiritja as well as Dua things are ritualized in the Djungguan, despite the fact that the two old women were supposed to walk only in Dua clan territory. Kaitjimbal's ranga is his tail (see Ulmark ceremony, page 317). The mokois danced are said to be Yiritja trickster souls by some of the informants, Dua souls by others, and by another group they are declared to be of both moieties. The last category is probably correct, since the mokoi's moiety depends largely upon what clan country is being sung at that time.

852 113 Yurlunggur, the trumpet, is in the "totem well at the head of the dance ground." The iguana with him are his children. "They are initiated men who have given their blood for the Djungguan ceremony," or, as it has been concretely put by the natives, "Yurlunggur is in the Mirrirmina well. We hear him roaring out and the young men stand with their heads down." "Yurlunggur is the father of these iguana. He calls to them and brings them out one at a time, and

he is calling to his yolno [black human] children for them to see him." 852 773

This section is equivalent to Yurlunggur coming out at the camp circle, Section C.

G. The Circumcision

1. The men tip their spears with human blood, pick up the two uncircumcised boys and march toward the women's camp. 852
2. The women paint themselves.
3. The dance of the wild geese.
4. The women apply magic to the boys.
5. The circumcision and treatment of the foreskin.
6. The removal of the feather.
7. The food taboos are imposed.

1. On this last day of the Djungguan the men, at the ceremonial ground, paint their stone spear heads with the ceremonial blood. The leader of one of the ceremonies explained this in the following way: "We take that blood on our spears to the women's camp and tell the women we have killed a very big python and we ran away after we had killed it, but that the snake did not really die. The camp women know then it's Wongar. They think that blood on the spear is Wongar's. If a woman asks, 'Why did you kill that snake?' we say, 'So he'll go down in the ground. We want to be sure he'll go down in the ground.'"

The men then form into a regular line (both those who have seen Yurlunggur for the first time and the older men) and, beating on their spears with their spear-throwers, march toward the women's camp, crying out, "Ka—ok!! ye! ye! Ka—ok!! ye! ye!" On the way they pick up the two uncircumcised boys and place them on the shoulders of two men, again in the way small babies are carried.

2. Meanwhile the women, instructed by the old men to paint themselves and get ready for the camp part of the ceremony, cover their faces with red ocher and their bodies with daubs of white paint. The painting is poorly done and not elaborate. It is only on this last day of the ceremony that the women are allowed to paint themselves, and it is explained that they are allowed to paint at this time only because it is the day of the circumcision and the men want them to look nice when uncircumcised boys see them. For some little time before the men arrive with the boys who are to be circumcised upon 852 302 852 535

that time is represented on the bark tray. The boy is given a piece of 852
kangaroo meat or some other food and an old man says, "That is not 869
kangaroo. You tell me the name of that which you're eating. What
is it?"

An old man sits beside the youth and whispers a totemic name of the animal into the ear of the boy. The boy then calls out this esoteric name as he swallows the food. As he says the totemic name all the men cry out, "Yai!!! yai!!!" The whole list of foods is gone through, the boy eating them and being told the taboo name of each. Even though the food is not represented on the bark tray, its name is told him and another pellet takes the place of the missing edible.
During the ritual the little boys are informed that if they impart any 852
of the information they have been given, "something will happen to
their mothers," and that the old men will spear them if they inform 869
any of the women or children. They are told that the old men will 626
know by magic if they betray their secrets. All the men insist that a boy would be killed if he gave away the secrets of the men.—When the ritual is finished, the fire and logs are covered with sand and earth, and men and boys return to the main camp.

The newly circumcised boys are kept away from all women and 852
remain with the men until the wound is healed and they can walk
and urinate without pain or effort. Then the pubic coverings they
have been wearing, the ones in which the women saw them before [291]
circumcision, are taken off; a short song is played over them and they are burned, others being placed on the boys to symbolize the change in biological and social status. The boys are watched over most carefully by the men during the entire ceremony, as well as during a period after the circumcision. Some older man is always with them. This attention is given both to keep them away from the women and because it is felt that during a circumcision initiation a boy should have every luxury given him and the best of everything that the group has to offer.

Older boys show greater emotion and expression of pain than the younger ones when they are operated upon. The younger ones stop crying almost immediately after the operation.

3. The older age grade of youths who have been shown the totemic 852
emblem of the python for the first time (see Section F, 4) are put on 561
a vegetable diet for a period determined by the leader of the ceremony, 262
ordinarily about a week. At the end of the period the young men are
taken to the men's ceremonial grounds where they are painted by 302

852 some of the older men with the totemic design of their clan, the
262 leader and the older men meanwhile singing the totemic names of
561 the clans, animals, and sacred clan wells over the youths. They can
302 now eat anything they desire. The taboo of silence (see Section F, 3)
is also removed at this time. The leader of this ceremony, who, as
852 has been said before, is usually the head of the Liaalaomir clan, is
431 always given presents by the newly initiated boys. These presents consist of all varieties of food, weapons and other elements of the material culture. The whole family of the boy, both men and women, help him. Only the old men can participate in the consumption of food that is given in payment.

852 4. The ceremonial trumpet (Yurlunggur) is put back in the totemic well of the clan whose leader has been giving the ceremony. It is buried at night in the mud so that the women will not see it when they are at the well. If it is in good condition at the time the next ceremony is held, it will be used for this occasion; if not, it is reburied and a new trumpet made.

852 *Native Interpretation.*—The reference in the native interpretation in
Section E which says a man cannot eat anything when he has blood
262 on him because he is unclean, indirectly explains the superficial reasons for placing the taboo on the older boys.

A general summary of the interpretation of each ritual section will be given in Chapter XI.

THE GUNABIBI CEREMONY

852 A. Preliminaries

1. Mandelprindi, the bull roarer, is made.
2. The young men are chosen for initiation by the leader.

1. The season chosen for the Gunabibi is always the dry period as soon as the food is plentiful, after the luxuriant spear grass has been burned and travel becomes easier. This ceremony lasts from two months to two years. At the discretion of the leaders it may be shortened or indefinitely prolonged. The information that a large group of people is coming from a long distance to participate at the Gunabibi often causes the leader to continue the preliminary stages a month or more while waiting for the visitors.

852 When the ceremonial leaders of the Liaalaomir clan have decided
that it is time to start the Gunabibi ritual, it is usually the younger
534 brother of the Liaalaomir leader who goes out into the men's ground

535 852 292 302 On his head is a high painted headdress ("dunce cap") made of ti tree bark, topped with a bunch of native companion's feathers. The bark is covered with red ocher. The body of the dancer is completely coated with human blood, and the body from the waist up, as well as the arms and the shoulders, is covered with perpendicular parallel lines of birds' down, and bunches of leaves are attached to the upper arm. The face may have two horizontal lines running from ear to ear above and below the eye, with one additional line that crosses the face at the chin.

852 535 The dancer advances with slow deliberate rhythm in a zigzag course as though he had heavy weights attached to his feet. As he changes his course and his flight across the field, he squats and shakes his shoulders, which makes the leaves on his arms quiver like the feathers of a bird. He kneels and faces the chorus. The leader and men surround him, knock off his headgear and rub his back to rub off some of the birds' down that has been glued on it, and the leader sings, "Gunabibi! Gunabibi!" in a voice which is impressively dramatic and sounds much like a modern priest chanting a prayer. ("Gunabibi" is one of the names used for Muit and Yurlunggur.)

852 2. The dancing stops. A man comes out with a bull roarer and whirls it. In camp the women answer in a trilling high soprano.

533 3. The bull roarer is put away, and the chorus and leader sit down in a circle and sing mandelprindi. A few men stand up and move back and forth behind the others. They have their stone spears attached to their spear-throwers. They are supposed to be fighting men. The leader stands in front of all. The following song sequence, the heart of the Gunabibi ceremony and often repeated, is gone through for the first time.

Sea gull	male, female, and eggs
A small snake (bolokmi)	male, female, and eggs
Native companion	male, female, and eggs
Small rock python (wirtit)	male, female, and eggs
Muit (python totemic spirit)	male, female, and eggs
Small fresh-water snake	male, female, and eggs
Sea gulls	male, female, and eggs
A small snake (bolokmi)	male, female, and eggs
Sea eagle (dimala)	male, female, and eggs
Rock python (Wirtit)	male, female, and eggs

men. When they go around the women they are snakes. The two old 852
women who beat the ground are those two old Wawilak women who 535
beat the ground when Yurlunggur tried to swallow them. They are 773
beating Muit. They tell those young people they can't eat every kind of food or they will get sick and maybe die and they will have sores on their bodies and rot away. The old women walk up and down and say, 'Muit, don't you come out any more and swallow these people. We are good people, we are clean.'"

Other accounts say that when the men come out of the ceremonial grounds in a line and dance toward the group of women they are the snake who has smelled the blood of the two old women because "They are painted in that blood [meaning they have the blood from a man's arm, which is the symbolical menstrual blood of the Wawilak women]. They paint their noses and over their eyes; when the snake swallowed the women he bit them and the blood came. This makes them Wongar women too."

"The snake calls out to all the other snakes and they come up and 852
circle around the women. [See the Djungguan for a like inter-
pretation.] The women are in their paper-bark house. When they take 773
their mats off, that means they have stood up before the snake swal- 302
lows them. The red ocher on their faces [the women's] is blood from where that snake bit them when they were swallowed. The two Yiritja snakes who call out are the spirits of the two children of the Wawilak women. They cry out and cry out."

"The presents the women give to the two [Yiritja] snakes go inside 852
the two snakes. Those two women are inside the snake. These presents 773
are swallowed by the snake just the same as those two women were 431
swallowed by the snake before." The presents given by the women are kept by the Dua leaders of the ceremony, but not before they have been put on the snake emblem (i.e., given to Muit; see E 2 below).

E. The Yiritja Messengers Leave to Invite the Other Clans to the Ceremony 852

1. The two Yiritja snakes leave to invite the other clans to the ceremony.
2. A symbolic well is dug, which all the dancers enter after the dance sequence of Section C is repeated.
3. The messenger snakes are sent out again to announce Gunabibi, while Section D is repeated and the presents given to the snake by the women are displayed.

852 773 *Native Interpretation.*—The forked sticks with the pole across are the house of the two women. The ritual of the women who answer the two snakes and beat the ground with their clubs parallels that of the two old women in Section D. The men in the bush are the snake. The boys who are hanging from the rafter are flying foxes. When the women move back and the men sit down in a line under the rafter, "This means one people, and the rafter is the snake and the people are Muit food.—They are all the same as the birimbir of Bapa himself. —They are Muit and they are one people." When the boys crawl from behind the line of men to one end of the line, they are brought to the tail of Muit and "They are the young snakes of that big one." When the boys crawl up to the head of the snake and receive the food from the head (the Yiritja snake sitting on the forked pole), "This means the children all want food [the children of the snake] and the snake spews out the two women and they [the children] eat it [the two women] and give it back to him [spit out the food again]."

All the above was told to me by the leaders of the Gunabibi, both during the actual portrayal of the ceremony itself and in conversations during the hours of rest between the morning and evening dances.

852 776 825 The significance of the flying fox to the Murngin is that he is a mokoi or trickster spirit of the dead who lives in the bush. He is a generally recognized symbol to all of the spirit that does not go into the water hole but goes out into the bush or the jungle or to the Morning Star Island at time of death (see Barnumbir myth, page 524). —"A flying fox is all the same as the dead spirit from the bush. It is Dua."[18]

852 J. Ceremonial Purification

302 783 1. The men and women paint themselves with red ocher and kangaroo fat. The neophytes are brushed with smoking ironwood branches.

[766 302 841] [18] When an uncircumcised child dies, its mother has the wings of a flying fox painted on her shoulders and the body of the fox painted on her abdomen. "This flying fox is the birimbir spirit of that dead baby. This is done for both Yiritja and Dua mothers and babies." The same painting is sometimes put on a woman when she has had her first menses. The woman is placed inside a hut and, when she wants to move, is given two yam sticks with which to turn over. The yam-stick movement is ceremonial and symbolic of the movement of the two old women who walked with the aid of a yam stick in each hand.

[783] The condition of the boys, or women who are menstruating, of the mother of a dead child, etc., is said to be djo-ak, which means ritually unclean. "If a mother or mari or yeppa sleeps close to dead baby that sweat comes out and makes the mother unclean. Women put red ocher on after this. No one can take food from these women until the bones are dug up and she is painted by her husband with flying fox."

1. A week or ten days afterward all the men and women who have 852
participated for the first time in the ceremony are painted with red 302
ocher and kangaroo fat, at least twice. The last time a fire is made of 783
ironwood, and green branches are held in it and brushed all over the initiate.

Native Interpretation.—This ritual is to keep the participants from becoming ill and to prevent them from being hurt by any of the animals seen in the Gunabibi dances. The use of red ocher for purification purposes is general. [751]
It is one of the recognized mechanisms of the Murngin ritually to prevent or stop sickness. At the end of the Gunabibi the following comment was made in a variety of forms: "After the next rain a man can come out and see a lot of emus and kangaroos and all kinds of animals. He will say, 'My word, we sang him good in that last Gunabibi.'"

THE ULMARK CEREMONY

The Ulmark ceremony is performed in the dry season. It may last a 884
month, a season, or possibly two dry seasons. In rare cases it may be shortened to a few days. The length of time depends on the leader and the old men associated with him.

Like the Djungguan and the Gunabibi, the Ulmark too is an age-grading ceremony. The boy who undergoes its initiation is placed definitely in the men's age grade. The Ulmark is recent in this area and is still being learned by the older men. It is not yet felt to be obligatory for all men to pass through it to attain social adulthood.

Human blood is not used in the Ulmark ceremony. It is the only one of the four major ceremonies belonging to the Wawilak cycle that does not use blood. Kangaroo grease serves more or less the same symbolical function.

New feather strings are made in preparation for the Ulmark, to be 884
used as ornaments in it. The work of collecting the feathers and making 301
the string is supposed to take a month or more and depends on the supply of feathers available and the amount desired by the men for the dance. Four men who later play the rôle of kangaroos gather the feathers from the various camps and take them to the men's ceremonial grounds at the camp where the ceremony is to be held.

The first three sections are largely preliminary. The first two sections 884
take place simultaneously.

884 A small pandanus palm stump is trimmed to a convenient size for a
534 beating stick. As soon as the totemic drum is made, it is carried under a man's arm and struck with the pandanus palm stick. The women reply from the main camp with "Kait-bal kait-bal" This is symbolic of the beginning of an Ulmark, as the sounding of the bull roarer is of the Gunabibi.

884 *Native Interpretation.*—The sound of the drums is the voice of Muit, and "the women answer the same way as for Mandelprindi [in the
773 Gunabibi] only they say 'Kait-bal kait-bal' [instead of making high trilling sounds]."—"The women calling out 'Kait-bal kait-bal' is what they said in trying to dance and keep Muit back."

C. The Kangaroo Messengers

884 1. They visit other groups to invite them. They have two kangaroo tail emblems with them.

2. The triangular dance ground is made; the behavior of the visitors who arrive.

884 1. For several weeks the men continue dancing the "buck and wing"
202 jig step while the women gather palm nuts and put them in water to soak out the poison. Meanwhile a few of the men make two small emblems. One is supposed to be the tail of the large gray kangaroo, the other the tail of the stone kangaroo.

The kangaroos are then sent away to the surrounding clans to invite them to the ceremony. When they approach a camp they cut a large club-like stick and beat it against a hollow tree. The camp people hear it and realize that Ulmark messengers have arrived to invite them to its ritual. A man from the camp goes out to meet the messengers, who say, "We have two kangaroo tails here, one Dua, one Yiritja. We have all the food ready. You must come."

884 2. While the messengers are away the men in the camp make a triangular dance ground which is the same in structure, material, and form as the Djungguan dance ground. When the visitors—men, women
[302] and children—approach the camp of the clan that is giving the ceremony they paint themselves with red ocher, They sing the Kait-ba,
[533] kait-ba refrain until they arrive in the main camp. Visitors who arrive early and who have been initiated into the Ulmark are conducted by the old local men to the men's dance ground, where they
884 start dancing the characteristic jig step of the Ulmark.

533 All neophytes are supposed to remain on the ceremonial grounds

and not go to the main camp until the Ulmark ceremony is over. 884
They do not dance. The women stay in the women's camp. The 533
women form themselves into groups according to their clan, and dance and sing, "Kait-ba! kait-ba!"

The men, also grouped according to clan, sing:

(1) The honeybee (Yer-pain) of the Dua moiety
(2) Small stone kangaroo (pardi-pardi)
(3) A grub found in rotten wood floating on lakes and rivers (Ka-mer-ung)
(4) A grub found in the trunk of the pandanus tree
(5) An acacia tree grub (Bar-ler-wir-lar)
(6) A grub found in the roots of the lake grass (I-nur-i)
(7) A grub found in the lily bulbs

At the end of each song cycle a call is made that is the same as the chorus refrain of the Djungguan ceremony.

Native Interpretation.—"When they [the messengers] hit the tree it 884
is like when those two women were walking and saw honeybees' nest 773
and cut down the tree,"—*i.e.*, the tree that is beaten by the mes- 202
sengers is hollow, as was the tree which the old women cut down. The hollow tree is also beaten as a substitute for the hollow log drum.

The triangular dance ground is "all the same as the Djungguan." 884
It is called barn-ga-ga and means python's body. "The women dancing 773
are the two Wawilak sisters." The songs that the men sing when they 533
are divided into groups are "every kind of animal that the two women saw on their way down to Mirrirmina." These songs are to stop Muit and were sung by the two Wawilak women.

D. The Torres Straits Pigeon and Uvar

1. The pigeon emblem is placed twice within the drum on the tri- 884
angular dance ground. 535

1. After the completion of the dance ground, the leader announces
that the Torres Straits pigeon dance will be performed. The man who [302]
dances this dance has red ocher on his face, a white head band, dots on his body, and a red ocher surfacing from the knees to the elbows. A man brings the ceremonial drum, Uvar, and lays it down at the large end of the triangular dance ground. A small light stick is painted, and feathers are tied to one end to represent the pigeon.

The dancer lies down on the ground beside the "pigeon," crying out, "Wah! Wah!!" He picks up the pigeon, arises, and dances a short

Native Interpretation.—According to the natives' statements, the symbolization here is the same as in Section C when the kangaroo messengers leave the first time. 884

J. The Grub Dance Sequence

1. Several varieties of grubs are danced, as well as honeybees and other species. 884 535
   - (1) The acacia tree grub (Bar-ler-wir-lar); a headdress made of the sulphur-crested cockatoo is worn for this dance. [292]
   - (2) A grub found in the ant beds (Gu-lung-a). Two men sit with their backs together, bend their torsos forward so that the head is as near the ground as possible, and then swing the body from left to right and back again.
   - (3) The lake and river floating-wood grub.
   - (4) Plain's grass grub. The bodies of the dancers are covered with small circular dots made by dipping the end of a bamboo rod into white paint and pressing it against the skin. [302]
   - (5) The lily grub.
   - (6) Small kangaroo (pardi-pardi).
   - (7) The Dua honeybee's honey found in a dead tree.
   - (8) The Dua bee's honey found in a green tree.
   - (9) The tiger snake (Dar-pa).
   - (10) The sulphur-crested cockatoo headdress (Kurt Kurt).
   - (11) The two Yiritja and two Dua kangaroos. The four sit down and the chorus surrounds them. The leader sings out the taboo names of the kangaroo. The chorus represents bushes and trees.

Native Interpretation.—The things sung in this all-inclusive list of songs are "the things the two women named and saw on their way."

K. The Settlement of Old Feuds

1. Old feuds are settled and a clown helps prevent open fighting and the destruction of the ritual. The ki-djin "language" is taught, and there is a repetition of earlier sections of the Ulmark. 884
2. The initiates are placed in a line, one behind the other.
3. Two lines of men throw the snail-shell rattles to each other.
4. A line of men and one of women on the boundary line of the male and female camps throw the snail rattles back and forth.

1. The above sequence of dances takes a month or six weeks to per-

884 form. When the moon is about quarter full in the west the messengers return. Everyone becomes very quiet; that peculiar type of quietness reigns in which one almost feels there is trouble brewing within a Murngin camp.—Then the people who have had trouble during the last year, or even prior to that time, begin to quarrel and fight. They are always of different clans, never members of the same group. When fights start, the leaders stop them. [198] The people who have been keeping the Ulmark stand by, spears in hand, and talk the ki-djin "language" to them; some sing it. The "language" is a kind of native pidgin which includes words from the Mullikan, Djuan, and other native languages from the south.

884 522 A man noted for his clownish abilities takes his spear and spear-thrower from his personal basket, eats his food in an absurd manner, and generally acts the fool while he talks the kidjin language. Everyone laughs at this performance. If one of the quarreling men turns on the clown, the latter points a spear at him and pretends to spear him. The general loud laughter from everyone keeps the angry one from committing any overt act; and since the clown and his audience express no hostility, the offended man cannot cause trouble. It is clear that this clowning is a method of preventing feuds from breaking out during the ceremony.

884 535 The Torres Straits pigeon is danced again and the pigeon pulled through the drum as before. The spear is danced again, and the entire remaining sequence of Ulmark dances repeated; the snail shells are [302] placed on the spear-throwers as before, and all the men paint their bodies and upper arms and legs with red ocher and kangaroo grease.

884 533 2. The initiates lie down in two lines. The four messengers sing near the general camp, but low enough so that the women cannot hear them. They sing in the kidjin language. Then they sing louder, and the women answer with the refrain: "Kait-ba! kait-ba!"

3. On the men's ground two lines of dancers throw the snail rattles back and forth. They, too, sing the refrain of the women. After this all go to the general camp singing the kait-ba song. They take the marl-pin-pin with them. When they get on the ground near the general camp they change the refrain to a kind of low humming noise, "m-u-mmmmmmmmm."

884 4. The women meanwhile have come out to the intermediate ground and stand in a line, and the men approach and form themselves into a line opposite them. The men from one clan throw a snail-shell rattle to the women belonging to the same clan. They throw the

The initiates are not allowed to see the rest of this part (N) of the Ulmark. All the older men get up and run to the path that has been excavated in the snake ground; they run inside the path and into the hole. 884

Native Interpretation.—"Two men [the pairs of sitting men] go straight inside the hole we dig for them. That means that the snake has swallowed the two women and is going down the hole." [773]

O. The Ceremonial Camp Is Encircled by Fire

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1. The men dance through the fire to the women's ground. They ceremonially wash and put on new raiment. 535

1. Two men paint themselves as darpa (tiger) snakes (Ma-ring-o in the Wangurri tongue, and U-var-ko in the Garl-ba-nuk dialect). One man paints himself to represent the small kangaroo (pardi-pardi). The two snakes squat down at the head end of the triangular excavated snake ground. The kangaroos sit down at the tail end, surrounded by the chorus. Lines of bushes are put on each side of the snakes. The kangaroos dance first. The chorus uses the swinging motion of the trunk described on page 321, and sings the taboo names of the kangaroo. After the snakes have danced, the men leave the ceremonial grounds and return to the women's camp. When the snake and kangaroo episode occurs, the neophytes are shown the excavation and instructed in the mythology for the first time. [302] ●

The women now make a fire that follows the path made by them earlier in the Ulmark (see Section G 4), which completely surrounds the men's ceremonial camp. The fire moves in toward the men. The women return to their own camp. The men paint themselves and all their possessions with red ocher. They shave and cut their hair to give themselves a "new" appearance. The women in camp also paint themselves and all their possessions, also to make them look "new." The men come out of their ceremonial ground and through the fire to the main camp. They dance out into the water and wash themselves, as do the women. When the men and women come back, they take kangaroo grease and red ocher and paint themselves. They put on a new white headband, freshly painted arm bands, a new hair belt, and a new pubic covering. 884 302 [291]

Native Interpretation.—"That fire is all the same as the two women made to cook the animals that ran away. [It is also the snake, and the snake's tongue.] The path is Muit." 884 773

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S. The Forked-pole Dance Is Repeated

1. In the camp several old men have made three or four stone fires as if they were going to cook kangaroo. The women dance out from [535] the general camp to the forked pole where the two women climb it as earlier in the ceremony. The men come out of the ceremonial ground and surround the women on the pole. They roar like the thunder. The women jump on the ground into the chorus of men, and the two men climb up on the pole and then jump on the ground. A chorus of women dances outside the group of men.

Native Interpretation.—The natives' interpretation is the same as for the first performance of the dance (Section P, page 326).

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T. The Stone Fire and Snake Dance

1. The old men build a stone fire and the men inhale the smoke and squat over the fire in order to allow the smoke to enter their anuses.

1. All the men go to the general camp and divide into groups around the various stone fires the old men have made. The women dance around them. All the men hold their heads over the fires and inhale the smoke and heat. They also squat over the fire to allow the smoke to enter the anal opening. Men, women, and young boys then [302] paint themselves with red ocher and kangaroo grease.

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Native Interpretation.—When the men inhale the smoke, "this means so we can eat any kind of food." When they put their anuses over the fire, "This is like the Wawilak women did when that baby was born." The women go through this same healing and purificatory rite today. The whole fire ceremony "means just the same as the place in the Gunabibi [Section I] when men go along the ridgepole and get food handed to them."

U. The Palm Nut Bread Is Eaten

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1. The bread is divided and eaten by the men. The ironwood-leaf purification is held and the neophytes are steamed.

1. Several days later, possibly a week or more, the women bake a large palm nut loaf. The ceremonial bread is divided and eaten by all the men who participated in the ceremony. Another big stone fire is made. New body ornaments are placed on each man, and green bushes are held in the hands of each mature male to symbolize the trees that surround their ceremonial ground. The men dance around

852 men's ceremonial grounds where they are decorated for the coming ritual.

852 White string is put on their arms. The torso, the upper arms down to the elbows, and the upper part of the legs to the knees are painted 302 solidly with charcoal. The lower arms and legs are covered with red ocher, as are the face and hair. Lines of white feathers are glued with orchid-bulb juice from each shoulder across to the opposite hip so that the lines cross at the navel. A band of white feathers is put around the body at the belt line. A bark forehead band is painted with white clay and tied across the forehead so that the white band outlines the upper part of the face. Lines of white feathers run from ear to ear on the lower part of the face. This ends the first day's preparations. The women meanwhile have been gathering food for the morrow's ceremony.

Native Interpretation.—The natives say, "Marndiella is quick because the snake came quick. The design painted on the boy's torso symbolizes a woman's 'harness' because he is all the same as a woman."

B. The Song Sequence

852 1. The men cut their arms to make the blood flow, and a cycle of songs is sung.

533 2. The initiates have spears thrown at them.

1. In the morning the men cut their arms, as they do in the Gunabibi and Djungguan, for blood to be used in the ritual for both its magical power and its adhesive qualities. While the cutting is taking place the leader and the other men sing the following cycle of songs, time being kept by the beating of singing sticks:

(1) Flying fox (Yari-war-la)
(2) A small honeybee—Dua
(3) A large Dua honeybee
(4) The scales of the small fresh-water fish (Bi-dji-ma)
(5) Water ripples
(6) Flower of the water lily (La-barn-dja)—Yiritja
(7) Water-lily stalk (O-lo-nair-i)—Yiritja
(8) Flight of the dollar bird (Yam-yam-ming-o)—Dua
(9) Fruit tree's fruit (Djar-la-larn-a)—Yiritja
(10) Leaf of this tree (Gir-in-gir-in)—Yiritja
(11) Flower of this tree (Gar-dok-gar-dok-me-la)—Yiritja

852 men paint themselves on the ceremonial grounds for the morning's dance, and then sit down in a circle within the general camp. They throw spears at the boys who are to be circumcised and then take them inside the ceremonial grounds. The chief animals represented are dog, kangaroo, and honeybee. The ceremonial leader, when the men have almost completed their painting, returns to the camp. He has a large pair of singing sticks.

Native Interpretation.—The native interpretation of this second section will be discussed in the general analysis, Chapter XI.

C. The Women's Mat Dance

1. The young initiate (or initiates) and his mother's brother's daughter are put under an ainmara.
2. Fires are lighted and clan names called out.

1. The men who do not figure in the dancing, but who take part in the ceremony as members of the men's chorus, go with the leader to the main camp.

In the cleared space in the center of the camp the initiate is put under the woman's mat with his feet sticking out from under it. A young woman, preferably his galle, is put under the ainmara with him. The boy's mother (arndi) and his mother's mother (mari) stand over him. They wave their head circlets over him because this [262] is supposed to take away any harmful effect his eating the flesh of large animals may have had—in other words, from having eaten any of the things permitted up until this time, but which from now on he will not be allowed to include in his diet until he is married and has a child.

852 533 2. The leader and chorus sing fire (Laid-dal-ma-yao-yao) during this part of the ceremony. Fires are lighted at this point, which is a signal for the dancers to come out. The taboo names of many clan territories are called out by the leader and chorus. The women slap their thighs and keep time with the men's singing and the beating of the singing sticks. All the women are painted with red ocher 852 [302] except the two who stand over the boy. They are painted in a rough imitation of him. The women sit while the men stand. The men have their spear-throwers lying on the back of their necks and a hand on each end of the weapon. The scene at this part of the Marndiella corresponds to that at the end of the Djungguan at the time of the circumcision.

Native Interpretation.—"When a boy is put under an ainmara, that house is the house of the two old Wawilak women."—"Those women dancing around the ainmaras are told to do this to stop sickness and so the boy won't have trouble where he is cut."—"The couple under the ainmaras are the two Wawilak women," from the point of view of the myth and ritual. 852 773

"Marndiella was sung first by the two women before they sang the Djungguan and Gunabibi to try to stop the rain, but they couldn't stop it and the snake came and swallowed them."

D. The Dog Dancers Enter

1. Two men dance in the main camp as dogs.

1. A dog dancer comes into the dance ground of the main camp after circling about in the nearby bush and on the camp ground. He has a high peaked hat on of the same type that is used in the Gunabibi. While he comes toward the group, all the taboo names of the country belonging to the Mandelpui, Liaalaomir, and Wawilak clans are cried out by the leader and male chorus. Another dog who has on only a forehead band instead of the high hat approaches the group from another quarter. The first dog comes in and smells the feet of the boy and girl and sits down at one end of the line of men. The other dog does likewise and sits at the other end. The boy gets up then and pulls a feather from off the decorated men. 852 535

When the boy pulls the feather off it means: "Those two women had that done to them when the rain knocked the feathers off when they danced around the bark house."

Native Interpretation.—This dance "means that boy is all the same as iguana, bandicoot, opossum, and kangaroo, and that dog has come to catch him. Those two women made it that way."

E. A Line of Men Dance into the Women's Camp with Lighted Torches

1. The boy, or boys, who are to be circumcised are once more placed under the ainmara, and a line of men with torches dance around them.

1. The men then go out to the ceremonial ground and paint themselves with blood and feathers. They form a long line and dance into the women's camp carrying lighted torches of paper bark. The boy has been placed under the woman's mat and they dance around him. The leader stands by the men and sings torch fire (War-nan-bor-yo- [302]

into totems. The word "can't" is not to be taken too literally, since 796
it would be possible, although unusual, to have but one totem 773
made.

The decorative materials used in the construction of the totemic emblems have a symbolical significance. I was frequently told: "Red parrot feathers on a ranga are all the same as fire. That log [the original totemic wood used in the Djunkgao myth] was lighted when those two women were here, and that made that fire. That fire now is red parrot feathers."

The water the men use in painting the rangas symbolizes the spring flood water coming from the totem well; and when the natives sang mud several of my informants said, "You can sing the mud song, not because we are using mud to cover our rangas with, but it is like we are painting our rangas with mud from the totem wells." The red ocher symbolizes the wet mud of the totemic wells where the totemic rangas are buried when not in use. The totemic mud has spiritual significance.

When the tempo increases during the singing of water on the dance ground, reference is not only to the water which is running faster but to the seasonal situation, since the totemic well water runs rapidly only during the heavy rain period.

After the women have given the men food and they return to the Narra dance ground to continue their dancing, the repetition of the earlier cries is supposed to be the sound of water coming after a heavy rain; it is running down a flooded creek in the wet season and is definitely associated, I was told many times, with the totemic well water.

B. The Totems Are Displayed

1. The men shave and fashion "Van Dyke" beards. The women 796
paint. Certain dances are performed and the totems displayed. 382

1. All the men shave their faces and leave a small growth of beard on the point of the chin. The leader sends white clay to the camp, and the women and uninitiated boys paint themselves there. They, as well as the men who also paint at this time, use a series of lateral bands running around the body and legs and arms. They are supposed to be iguanas and kingfishers.

The totemic emblems are danced with and shown to all the men 796
present, who include not only the men of the moiety giving the cer- 535
emony, but both Yiritja and Dua clansmen. All the men participate

a ceremony without dropping into the mythological reasons for doing it. 796

773 "All those Dua wells are danced because those two women put their dilly bags and ranga string in their [large string] bags and they went out to look for shellfish and they went inside the mangrove. Those Wongar yolno they went and stole that dilly bag and yam sticks and ranga string and they took it away. Those yolno burned the grass around that basket so those two women could see that fire and think their camp fire had burned over and burned up that basket. When the two women came back they said, 'It's no one's fault but our own. Our fire did it.' Each sister quarreled with the other for the burning of the red parrot feather and string.

"They took their own baskets from their heads. They think about the way they had done before and were sorry they hadn't put their other baskets in a clean place. They heard the sound of singing sticks from inside the jungle. They knew then that Wongar yolno had stolen their baskets and ranga string. They thought first they would go and take it away from them. They ran with that basket. They came close and saw the men were singing the Narra song. They thought, 'It is no good now, we must work. We must get food for the men.' "[2]

"The meaning on that basket is when young people sneak up now and play with mielks they do that like old yolno did. We people do wrong the same way. We must clean him up the same way."

One man who had had missionary training said of this part of the ceremony, "It is just the same as the Heaven people do wrong when God say, 'no more touch that tucker[3] on that tree,' and they do anyway."

F. The Ring of Women Repeated (See Section C)

In the morning all the men shave and leave only the small "Van Dyke" beards. "They shave because they are taking the string off those rangas and selling it to the Yiritja." The same thing is done, however, if the string is sold to the relatives who belong to their own moiety. 796 302

After the men have shaved there may or may not be a dance, usually not. All the ceremonies are put off until the next day, when wallaby and kingfisher are danced. At the last dance the kingfishers enter into the main camp for the first time. They behave much as 796 535

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[2] This and the foregoing paragraph offer a conspicuous example of how the native, in attempting to explain the ritual, draws on the myth.

[3] Food: Australian-white term.

796 535 they did in the first ceremony. They walk with spears in their hands, which, at the moment, symbolizes the yam sticks of the two Djunkgao sisters. They continue until they come to the ring of women, as described in the duni or red-ocher part of the ceremony. The kingfishers also represent the modern Murngin man looking for food and sexual intercourse. In a way, too, they are Wongar yolno. After the kingfishers have performed a dance around the women they thrust the short spears among the group to symbolize the Wongar yolno's original breaking of taboo against sexual relations with women of one's own group; then they return to the men's ceremonial ground.

G. The Brush Turkey Totem Is Danced and Displayed

1. The totem emblem of a turkey is danced in the Narra ground.
2. The initiates are shown the totem.

● [302] 1. Some distance back from the men's dance ground, groups of men have been painting themselves like turkeys. They represent the brush turkey totem. Fires are built all around the men just as fires are built on the plains when turkeys are hunted. The turkeys dance through the fires while an old man beats the singing sticks and leads them toward the men's dance ground. They carry the totem. One man dances a pantomime of a brush turkey out in the plains.

796 561 784 852 2. Small boys are put at the head of the dance ground and are shown the various lower age-grade types of totems by the old men (see list of totems, pages 39-51). They cannot see the ones that belong to higher age grades. After they have looked upon the totems which have been strongly taboo to them until this time, they must eat only bush food until after they are painted and have made presents to the leader. Looking at the totem serves as an initiation rite. After the boys have seen the totems, all the men dance once more to the main camp, where again the kingfisher ceremony is gone through with the women under their ainmaras.

796 113 *Native Interpretation.*—"When the turkeys come in, that means by and by the Yiritja are coming up. Those fires are built all around. This is all the same as making a fire in the plain by those Wongar men. When Wongar men built the fires those Wongar turkeys came up too and looked."

796 H. The Men and Women Bathe Ceremonially

1. All the men, women, and children enter the sea and wash themselves.

1. When this is completed the women and children all run into

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Native Interpretation.—The natives make a clear distinction between the Yiritja and the Dua Narra rites, but basically they are exactly the same. The formulae at the end of the songs in the Yiritja and Dua are different, and other formalized elements have slight variations; but in the fundamentals the structures of the two ceremonies are very similar, and the interpretations given are much the same. Because the two Djunkgao sisters were supposed to be Dua, there is a feeling that the Yiritja ceremony is associated with the floods and not with the women.

[535] The natives say they dance bandicoot right after water because he comes out of the bush first after the rain time, scratching small holes to look for food.

The women run away from the tree, say the natives, because the two old sisters ran in their time when the men approached them.

796 B. THE MEN DANCE WITH THE CARVED WOOD OF THE TOTEMIC EMBLEMS

1. The men shave themselves as in the Dua Narra.
2. The quail and fire dances are performed.
3. The totems are shown and the totemic bread eaten.
4. The women paint and the men go to the men's ground.

[302] 1. The men shave, leaving only the small "Van Dyke," putting heated honeybee wax on the beard and pulling it out. The leader then calls out the power name of Banitja (see list of totems, pages 34-48), one of the more important Yiritja totems:

"Bir-ka bir-ka banitja
Bir-ka bir-ka djir-lir-war-a (barrimundi)."

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2. Following this song, the leader and the chorus dance quail (djerkit). The quail is supposed to be the leader for fire and is therefore the leader for shaving with hot wax. After this dance the people become inquisitive and want to know what will be next. "What will we do?" they say. "Shall we tie our opossum string to our totemic emblems? What will we do?"

The leader says, "No, we will leave them."

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3. While the totemic bread is being eaten and sung over in the men's ground, the totemic emblems are painted, the same procedure gone through, and the same attitudes taken as in the Dua Narra. The leader sings the water cycle of songs, with bandicoot taking the prominent lead. A totemic well next is sung, then mud and man-

grove fish are called out. The last is a variety of borer found in the trunks of mangrove trees and is Yiritja. The totemic emblem is then painted with yellow lines representing the totems. 796 533

4. The leader directs that red ocher and white clay be sent to the main camp. One or more old men have been left in this camp to look out for the women and children. The old men direct the women while they paint. The women paint themselves to represent barrimundi and albatross (marn-ba), creatures associated with the sea tides and not the flood. 796 [382]

Native Interpretation.—The association of quail with fire is interpreted by the Murngin: "Quail is the boss for fire and Narra time. We call out that one when it is time to light the fires and we carry his ranga. Quail has a ranga and he is in the Narra ceremony." The quail in Wongar days, according to myth, threw some fire about and burned his feathers. Further, the quail is usually found in the low brush when it is fired during the burning season. 796 733

C. They Dance Around the Ring of Women

796 535

1. The same general outline of dancing is followed as in the Dua Narra; different animals and birds appear.
2. The totems are placed in the clan wells.

1. The men leave the ceremonial grounds and go to the main camp, calling out the big name of white clay:

> "Bir-ka bir-ka bu-lor-mar-mar (white clay)
> Bir-ka bir-ka gar-wa-wa (yellow paint stone)
> Birka-bir-ka mar-ku-la (white bubbles caused by barrimundi biting at fish)."

When they arrive near the camp, leader and chorus sing "birka birka marnba [a sea bird]." Near the entrance to the camp two men dance marnba. One dances to the right, the other to the left. They both turn at the same time, retrace their steps, pass each other, repeat the figure a number of times, and then dance around the ring and are surrounded by the chorus.

The women by now are fully painted.

After dancing the marnba the men dance barrimundi and follow this with Yiritja honeybee. They then form a long file. An old man meanwhile has gathered the women into a ring. They are under their ainmaras. The men, with the spears in their hands, dance around the women. They are supposed to be dancing garrawark and sea foam

796 535 back and forth, passing each other, turning, retracing their steps, repeating the figure a number of times. The pairs then dance with their heads together. It is a most intricate and difficult dance to learn, and is supposed to represent crocodiles swimming under water with only their nostrils thrust above the surface. This finishes the dancing for the evening.

796 The whole cycle of Yiritja wells is then called out, morning and night, until all the totem wells have been completed. Usually only one well is called out each night, although at times the names of two wells are sung by the leader and chorus. The totem well of the clan that is giving the ceremony comes last.

E. The Men Dance into the Women's Camp

796 1. The men go through the camp looking for food and bring the gathered food back to the leader and old men.

•302 1. When it is almost time for a ceremony to end, the leader picks out a group of men and says, "You paint yourselves as bandicoots and water for the sea-way," and to others, "You paint whale," and to still others, "You paint jungle fowl." The men who paint themselves as jungle fowl put circular symbols all over their bodies to represent the egg. The circles are connected with straight lines which are supposed to be long string-like beans from a tree I was unable to identify. While the men are painting on the Narra grounds, five or six younger men who already have been painted as bandicoot come out into the camp. This is the way Banitja, the great totem, did in the old Wongar days. He came out looking for food because he had smelled it cooking. They have, in addition, yellow lines for the barrimundi, and white dots which represent the foam made by barrimundi biting at something. Others, supposed to be banitjas, may be painted as Yiritja honeybees, because Banitja came from the Koparpingu country, which has a honeybee totem.

796 When the dancers have come about halfway from the men's totem grounds the leader stops them and calls out:

"Bir-ka bir-ka bur-lum-bul (foam)
Bir-ka bir-ka ko-wa-wa (yellow paint)
Bir-ka bir-ka mar-ku-la (red and yellow paint)."

They then all dance into the camp, calling out, "Kar-ra-ark Ye!" They go from hut to hut as though looking for something. They are

supposed to be Banitja looking for food. The women get up and give 796
them some palm-food bread or yam bread which they have prepared. They also can give fish or honey. If the men received nothing from the women they would become very angry, and pick up their spears and threaten them. The women always give because, say the informants, they see this Banitja painted on the men.

After the men have made the circle of the camp they return to the dance ground. They do not eat the food they have been given, for they are young men. They take it to the older men who belong to a higher division in the men's group. If the young men should eat this food they would turn into old men immediately.

Certain totemic dances are danced and the leader then instructs all [535
the men to shave, leaving only the small tuft of hair at the point of 302]
the chin. While everyone shaves, the leader calls out:

"Bir-ka bir-ka rao rao (power name for opossum string)."

The opossum string is put on tne chin with hot honeybee wax. The strings are supposed to represent the white flowers of the lily. The above power name of the opossum string signifies to the dancers that the leader has chosen the land-way cycle of songs. If the leader had chosen the sea-way he would have called out the power name of the whale:

"Bir-ka bir-ka bul-tung-o, bir-ka bir-ka ma-rain-dji bi-lain-dji."

F. The Whale Dance

The leader and chorus dance water on the Narra ground as 796
described in earlier sections. Bandicoot is also danced, and then the 535
sea-way is followed through (diamond fish, waves, et cetera). No one talks then; everything is quiet. There can be no laughter. The men walk up and down the dance ground slowly and attempt to keep very still. This is supposed to be the sea water and the slow rising of the tides. The chorus splits into two groups. They stand at each side of the Narra dance grounds. They are all whales. Two men who have painted themselves like whales stand at each end of the Narra dance ground. The leader is in the middle of the ground. The leader walks up to and marches in front of one group of the chorus and stamps his foot, then turns and walks to the other group and stamps his foot. This is the way a man stamps his foot when he hits a whale with his paddle. After this, the leader covers with ainmaras the two men

the dirt but the marikmo can pick him out and take him away. The 764
earth is heaped over the body, grass is put on top and, at times, stones. 775
Everyone leaves then and eats his evening meal.

A man is buried by his people so that he will rot and the flesh can 764
be prepared for removal from the bones. The people who bury their
dead say they do it so they won't have to see him rot.

(In platform burial the body is placed face upward so that when 764
the abdominal wall breaks the intestines will not fall. The platform is 769
not torn down when a body is removed. It is always avoided thereafter, although the feeling is rather slight about it. Ordinarily women feel a greater sense of taboo about it than men. They always pass by at some little distance because "they are afraid that that mokoi is still there." The men, when they are with the women, sometimes tease them by grunting and coughing like mokois, and laugh when the women jump. The women laugh too, but usually not until later.)

The men then call out the names of the dead male mari and marikmo 764
of the dead man. The groups, singing, quarrel with the people for what they did to the deceased, and the dead ancestors are supposed to blame the living for not taking better care of the dead person when he was
alive. While this singing is going on, the chorus dances with spears [535
and knives to simulate a fight between the living and the dead. Once 533]
more the garma cycle of songs is sung. The people then clap their hands, symbolical of the Macassar drum, and finally the red cloud element in the garma sequence is sung to indicate that the ceremony is over.

The Grave Post.—The next day, or a few days after the burial, the 764
grave post is erected and a mast of a Macassar design is also placed 177
over the grave. Both the grave post and the mast are carried through the camp while a Murngin version of a Macassar prayer is said over it
and the chorus sing a response to the prayer. Food is begged from all 764
the members of the camp who are not participating as near relatives
in the ceremony. All the male relatives of the deceased who are later 302
ceremonially to eat the food in ritual communion, paint themselves. The designs are those of the totem of the man who died, which usually means the totem of all the men engaged in the ceremony except those on the mother's side of the kinship group. When a Warumeri dies, for example, the men paint themselves as whales just as the dead body has been painted and as his totemic emblem and poles are painted. The post also announces to the ancestors that the body is buried beneath it.

The bones, after they have been washed, are placed in the paper 765
bark and at the end of the ceremony tied up into a bundle. After the [302]
cleansing ceremony is over the father and the two dués paint themselves with red ocher so that they "won't stink" (have the soul about them).

When the grave is opened the chorus sings canoe, then paddling, 765
which is a signal for the old woman to come out with the symbolic 533
spear-thrower while imitating a man paddling a canoe. The chorus then sings whale hunter, harpoon, and rope. At this time the other woman sticks the "spear" in the body. The body is a whale. The whale is the totem emblem for the Warumeri. Before a man was on the earth two Wongar men went to the totem well of the Warumeri and kept hitting and hitting and cutting it up. Cutting up the whale is next sung. At this juncture in the singing the two dués start cleaning the bones. Sometimes when the grave is being opened and the bones cleaned some of the chorus of men walk around the ground imitating the actions of a dog and others call out like curlews.

The mast is removed after the exhumation and burned. Each clan 765
at this period in the garma song cycle dances a different animal or 535
plant. Warumeri dance the whale, the Wangurri a split mangrove wood, the Djirin the turtle, and the Liaalaomir the snake. This is also supposed to help the spirit depart to the other land and to take him out of his own society.

When the bones have been placed in the paper bark and wrapped up 765
they are put by one of the men in the fork of a tree a short distance from the camp. It is late evening when he returns from the tree where he has placed the bones. Several men carrying fire stick brands meet him and escort him back to camp. The keeper of the bones of the dead man has bushes tied on each arm or he holds them in his hands and crosses them so that the bushes are on his chest. On the edge of the camp a brush house has been made for him. He enters and stays for the night and sometimes for a short time longer. He is not allowed out. The mother of the dead man gives him food and water and takes care of him. "He is just the same as a son of that old woman."

Men gather water in melon shells and obtain a supply of red ocher 765
to make ready for his reappearance. They approach the hut and sit on 302
one side of the doorway, the keeper of the bones on the other. The man puts red ocher on himself with the aid of the water. He remains one or two, sometimes three days longer, to let the newness of the red ocher wear off. Sometimes he leaves the house and moves to an-

765 other house with some of his near relatives, and once more covers
302 himself with red ocher. Meanwhile the old house is burned. He then
returns and the people paint him as though he were going to be put
through the circumcision ceremony. All the other relatives paint themselves with red ocher. This is particularly true of those in the patrilineal line, but the mother and wife also cover themselves. After a
765 symbolical well is made, such as is described on page 419, the man who
is in charge of the bones is supposed to give food to all of the above
people.

He goes out and kills a supply of game; after it is cooked it is placed in the well, which is symbolic of the dead man's well. All the clansmen of the deceased also put in food. The man who is the keeper of the bones and who has cleaned them takes a stick and cleans out his finger nails into the hole. The finger nails are then cut off into the well. "This is to clean off that rotten flesh from his fingers and put it into
the well." At this juncture of the ceremony, if the dead man is Yiritja,
[533] white maggots are sung; they are supposed to be flying away. If the
man was Dua they sing the ants' larvae. Both songs symbolize change.
Only the clansmen and near male relatives of the dead man can eat
the food but everyone gathers about this communion.

The Hollow Log Coffin.—The keeper of the bones watches them for two or three months; then the brother of the dead man is supposed to go to him and tell him to bring the bones in. The bones are brought up to the edge of the camp, where red ocher is placed on them before they are ready to enter the main camp. The bones are placed in paper bark out in the sun and allowed to dry so that they will not smell and will have the odor of red ocher when they do arrive in camp. Frequently a small bark cylinder is made out of a stringy-bark tree and the totemic emblems of the dead man are painted upon it. The bark cylinder is really a preliminary coffin and is only smaller in size and lighter in material than the final hollow log receptacle in which the bones are placed at the end of the mortuary ceremony. The man who is carrying the bones at the time they are being painted at the edge of the camp puts red ocher on his arms and legs at the same time.

The singing at this point is split mangrove stick, which is the home
[533] for the mangrove fish, if the ceremony is Yiritja; if it is Dua, the singing is salt-water turtle. The men sing cutting up the turtle and throwing the bones away just as if the turtle were a man. They then dance
[535] mokoi, woman crying, and cockatoo, which are a part of the Nierk
mokoi ceremony. The bones are then placed inside of the bark cylinder

and the two ends are stuffed with grass. Sometimes red parrot feathers are stuck on it if the bones belong to a Dua man, and opossum string if to a Yiritja. 765

The women are off some distance from the men. The mother and female mari of the dead man dance a little to one side by themselves. The men dance up to the women and offer the bones to them. The women take them and return them to the men. This is repeated several times before the women finally stop dancing and accept the bones. The leader continues beating his singing sticks and still sings the garma songs. The men wail. The women take the bark coffin and place it in the forks of two sticks at the edge of the camp. The mother then takes the bones and carries them wrapped in paper bark for several months. (The custom of carrying the bones about is practiced only in the more central regions of the Murngin tribe and, according to my informants, is not found in the Wessel Island group among the Yaernungo.) Once more food is offered to the former keeper of the bones. 765 535 765

The Nierk or sulphur-crested cockatoo ceremony follows within the main camp. The principal participants in the ceremony paint themselves with white clay. The earth has been piled up into three small basins which lie side by side and represent the totem wells of the dead man and his relatives. Before the ceremony branches have been broken off the trees and placed in the well bottom to represent the leaves brought in by the tide or the spring floods. The wells are always placed under a large tree. The bones of the dead man and some of his personal property are placed within the circumferences of the three wells. During the dancing that follows members of the chorus break up the spears, shells, et cetera, owned by the deceased.

One of the painted dancers climbs a tree and hangs from a limb by his knees. The leader and chorus sit down in front of the totemic wells. They sing the sea-way cycle of songs (see pages 419-421). The cockatoo calls out in imitation of the sulphur-crested bird. He is supposed to be the mokoi spirit of a dead man. 765 535

A second dancer on the ground dances back and forth in front of the chorus of men and the leader. He is also painted white and is supposed to be the newly released ghost of the dead man who is still too timid to go out in the jungle and join the other ghosts. He tries to hide in the trees where the cockatoo is, but the bird sees him and screams out, just as the white cockatoos high in the trees do today [302] ●

283 and coarse in character. Occasionally, when there is no available supply of cord and it is necessary to tie a bundle, string is made by merely splitting bark into a few fine strips which are used without further treatment. The inner leaf of the pandanus is also used in an emergency, but two strands are first twisted together on the inner side of the leg. A cord of human hair is twisted with another string to make a large coarse twine, not only for added strength but because the larger size has a greater aesthetic value.

When vegetable fiber string is to be made, a Murngin, without the aid of a stick, starts digging at the base of a tree trunk until he has followed a large root out to where it branches into smaller ones. The diameter of these latter roots is about the size of a man's finger. They are broken loose and cut up into two-foot lengths and taken back to the camp.

A small shell is used to scrape off the outer bark. The root, with the inner bark still attached, is placed in the string-maker's mouth and bitten, so that several long straight lines perforate the inner bark from end to end, enabling the manufacturer to remove it in several long thin strips. After all the roots have had the same treatment, the strips are soaked in a small paper-bark receptacle of water for about half an hour. They are then put before a fire to dry until most of the moisture has evaporated, when they are deposited in a basket to remain there until the maker is ready to complete the operation, usually immediately. Two strands of the root fiber are held in one hand about an inch apart and rolled together on the inner side of the upper leg. This forms the raw, loose bark fiber into a small round strand. Another strand is made the same way. Then the hand is rubbed from the knee upward across the two strands, and a short piece of cord, about two-thirds the size of the maker's hand, is formed. The next piece of raw fiber is added to one end of the cord and the operation of rolling repeated. Except for the first addition, only one new piece of material is attached at a time, so that there will not be a weak spot at the same place in each strand of the two-ply cord.

[237] The small feathers or down of a cockatoo, jabiru, or other bird are rolled into the fiber string if it is to be used for decorative purposes, a ceremony, or a totemic emblem. The feather is first rubbed in the fingers to force the lateral fibers to project at right angles and evenly on both sides of the quills. Feathers are sometimes added at rhythmic intervals with the aid of beeswax.

● 302 283 Human hair string is manufactured by an entirely different technique. The natives save their hair when they cut it. It is usually two or three inches long, since both men and women in northeastern Arnhem Land do not wear the long hair seen in other parts of Australia. The cut hair is usually wadded into small loose balls, wrapped in paper bark, and kept at the bottom of a basket. The string is not made until a sufficient quantity has been gathered to form a cord several feet long.

283 A spindle eight to ten inches long, about one-eighth inch in diameter,

765 The bones are circulated from the mother or wife to the other near female relatives of the dead man. Finally, after several months or possibly a year, the bones are given back to the brother or father of the deceased. They then may be put on the platform or placed in a hollow log coffin. If they are put on a platform several months elapse before they are taken down and finally placed in a hollow log.

When the bones are to be placed in the hollow log the women are
ordered to gather a great quantity of bush food, preferably cycad nuts.
The leader sends men out into the bush to select a tree hollowed out by
termites. The bones are collected from the women and placed in a bush
house at the edge of the camp beside the hollow log coffin. A marai yirri
[202] is then made which is used as a message stick and sent to the other en-
campments of related clans to invite them to come to the final ceremony.

The men clean the bark off the log and carve it while the women prepare
the dancing ground. This ground is of no particular shape. The coffin is
painted with red ocher and the bones are once more given a coating of the
same material. The symbol of the totem well is also painted on the bones.
The leader then asks the women for the large palm-nut cake which they
have prepared and takes it to the bush house. The women are not allowed
[533] to come. The garma cycle of songs, beginning with stringy-bark flower
and ending with the Mirrirmina well, is once more sung. When the men
arrive at the white stone song the keeper of the bones picks them up. They
then sing the lightning coming from the sky and hitting the tree. The
bones are broken into small pieces and put into a paper-bark receptacle.
The legs and arms are broken first, then the jaw bone. The skull is not
broken to pieces at this time because the mother or some other near female
[302] relative is supposed to keep it. All the men paint themselves with a snake
pattern. The bones are then taken in a basket to the main camp and given
to the women, who cry over them. They are told to look at them for the
last time. They hit their heads and once more cut themselves to show their
sorrow. The bones are then returned to the men's dance ground, where
snake's spittle (rain), the rock python, and the totem well are sung again.

The bones are then dropped in the hollow log. The log is stuffed at both ends with bark to keep the bones from falling out and placed in the fork of a tree. A hole is then dug and the hollow-log coffin placed upright in the ground. This completes the final ceremony over the bones of the dead man among the western clans of the Dua moiety.

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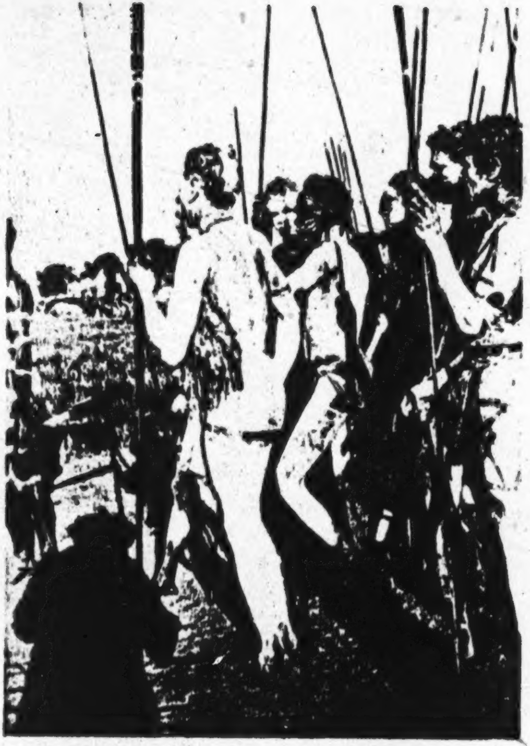
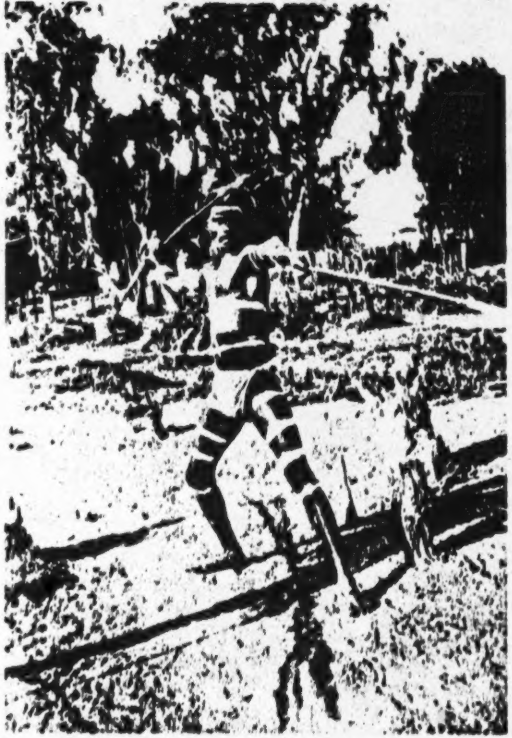
[p.558 D]



IVA. WAR PARTY. (Warriors covered with white clay.)



IVB. WARRIOR PAINTED TO REPRESENT A CROCODILE.

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292
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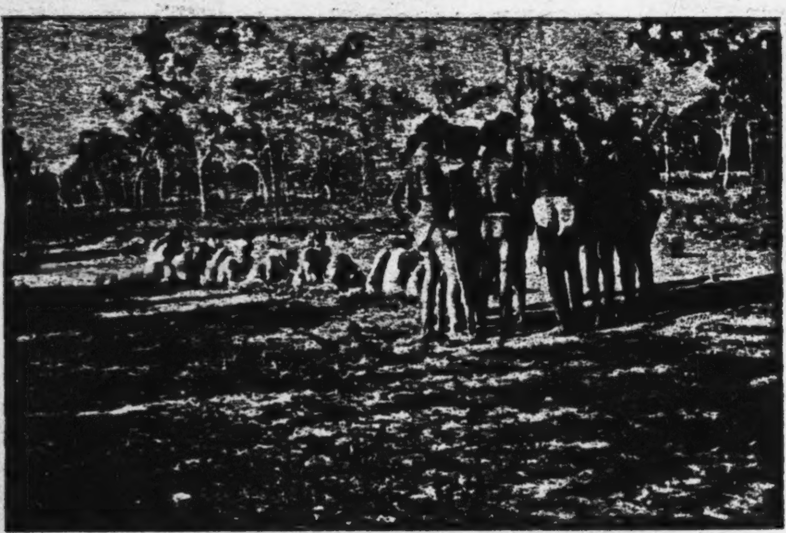
[1558 F]

VIA. YERMERLINDI, THE PYTHON'S EMBLEMS IN THE GUNABIBI.

VIB PREPARING A DANCER FOR THE GUNABIBI CEREMONY.
(*See Section C 1, page 293.*)

1: Warner E-5 (1926-1929) 1937
OI 17 Murngin OI 17



535

VIIa. Chorus and Dancers in the Ulmark Ceremony. (*See Section J, page 321.*)

302
535

VIIb. Grub Dancers in the Ulmark Ceremony. (*See Section J, page 321.*)

[p. 558 G]

796
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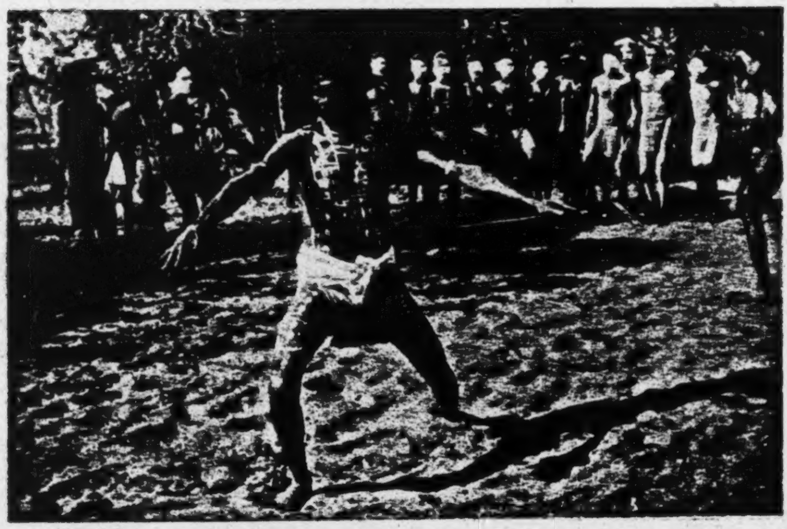

VIIIA. DANCING FLOOD WATER IN THE NARRA CEREMONY.

VIIIB. BOYS RECEIVING INSTRUCTION IN THE NARRA CEREMONY.

[FACING p. 559]

142
302

A Mauwulan, Yirrkalla

B Nangapiana, Groote Eylandt

C Kumutun, Oenpelli

D Wulkini, Liverpool River

PLATE 4. Artists of Arnhem Land

the aborigines either ran into the forest to hide themselves or climbed the trees to get out of his way. But when the aboriginal men saw that *Banaitja* was making his camp on the Duluru-waltjalapa swamp, which was close to their territory, they decided to kill him. Waiting until *Banaitja* was asleep, the aborigines crept up and cast many spears into his body. Roaring with pain, *Banaitja* jumped into the swamp, calling out as he sank beneath the water: 773*

'You'll never kill me properly. I'll come again before long.'

For many days *Banaitja* stayed on the bottom of the swamp, pulling the spears from his body and waiting for his wounds to heal. Then one day he rose from the water, his body covered with painted designs and carrying in his right hand a bundle of paper-bark[55] tightly bound with string, with which he started to beat the ground, the dull thudding sounds of which so frightened the aborigines that they all ran away. 773* 532*

Banaitja called to the adult men not to be afraid, for not only had he brought them many good things but he had much to tell them. After some hesitancy, the men gathered round to hear what he had to say. *Banaitja* first announced that he had changed his name to *Laitjun*. He then showed the members of each *mata* (language group) which designs they should paint both on their bodies and their sacred objects during the times of ceremony, so that everyone would know to which *mata* group the others belonged. The designs they would use were those he had painted on his own body.[56] [302]

As soon as each language group or *mata* had copied their own designs from his body, *Laitjun* transformed himself into a large white-barked eucalyptus tree which can still be seen on the shores of the Duluru-waltjalapa swamp of Blue Mud Bay.

As time went on the *jiritja* people became so contrite over the killing of *Banaitja* that they made a replica of his bark bundle, calling it by his name, *banaitja*. Each time the aborigines hear its dull thudding noise in the secret rituals they are reminded of their killing of the giant man and his gift to them.

Three bark paintings and a carved figure[57] belong to the myth of *Banaitja* or *Laitjun*.

Plate 80C pictures *Banaitja*, his death and his transformation, first into *Laitjun*, then into the white-barked eucalyptus tree at Blue Mud Bay. In panel *a*, the aborigines of Blue Mud Bay are spearing *Banaitja*. He is carrying his spear-thrower, but has no designs painted on his body. The group of short lines

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[55] The aborigines of Yirrkalla used a similar paper-bark bundle during the non-secret totemic rituals of the circumcision ceremony which, they told me, was similar to that used in the *Banaitja-Laitjun* ceremony. These bundles were identical with the *alukwira* (Pl. 108) of the *anuwaltja* ceremony of Groote Eylandt. Warner (1937), p. 302, mentions their use in the *dua narra* ceremonies. [778]

Elkin and the Berndts (1950), p. 31, record that the aborigines, to commemorate *Banaitja*, 'made the "likeness" of Banaitja in paperbark, bound together on a framework of cane.' It would seem likely that the authors, having heard of the bark bundle, *banaitja*, gained a wrong impression of its appearance, and described it without having seen a specimen.

[56] See carved figure, Pl. 135A, B.

[57] This is figured and described on Pl. 135A, B.

*773 *532 filling the panel *e*, symbolizes the bush-fire.[86] They also represent the white-barked eucalyptus trees, *gururi*, once the men who took part in the ceremony. On panel *f* are the paper-bark trees of the Matamataui swamp, and on panel *g* the hive of wild bees which escaped to Milingimbi. The diamonds indicate the paper-bark trees at Matamataui.[87]

Plate 93D is another representation of the bush-fire on the Gainmaui River. On the two lower panels are nine camp-fires, the circles representing the fire and radiating cross-hatched lines the logs of wood on the fire. The two large circles, with a human figure inside, are bark huts, each having a camp-fire at the entrance. The parallel cross-hatched bands at *a* represent a stack of firewood, the longitudinal band, *b*, the Gainmaui River and the cross-hatched band, *c*, a nearby range of hills. The area destroyed by the fire is represented by the two upper panels, the curving parallel lines to the left being a tributary of the Gainmaui River.

Aborigines Gathering Eggs of Sea-birds

[222] This painting deals with the time when two groups of aborigines, in their canoes, went to an island where the sea-birds nested. They gathered many eggs and brought them back to camp.

Plate 93C illustrates some of the incidents of that journey. The left-hand panel is the island covered with nesting sea-birds. The birds on the left are sitting on their eggs, while those on the right adjacent to two men are in flight. The numerous white dots are eggs. On the left-hand side, near some of the nests, are fish which the birds have brought in to feed their young. On the right are two canoes, loaded to the gunwale with eggs (white dots). The two rectangular cross-hatched areas in this panel represent rough water which almost swamped the canoes. The three dolphins, lower right, were seen on the outward journey.

The Man, Walanwanga, at Garawinu Island

During creation times a mythical *dua* man lived on a small island, Garawinu, east of Woodah Island.

[136] *Walanwanga*, who was skilled in fishing and hunting, was successful in capturing many dolphins, fish, water-snakes and green turtles. Since that time, there has always been an abundance of those creatures at Garawinu Island.[88]

On the upper and lower panels of Pl. 91A are five dolphins, *indjapana*, and between them three water-snakes, *jalu*; the small fish are unidentified. In the central panel are five green turtles, *gariwa*. The ovals above and below are rocks that project from the sea, the haunt of many green turtles, and the transverse lines, *a* and *b*, reefs of rock outside Garawinu Island.

[302 881]

[86] The design of the *gumaitj mata* of Caledon Bay, Fig. 63M. The same fire symbol was painted on the body of an initiate during a circumcision ceremony at Yirrkalla, Pl. 129C.

[87] The design of the *dalwongu mata* of Blue Mud Bay, Fig. 63J.

[88] This is a parallel myth to that of the *jiritja* island of Garabi, off the coast of Port Bradshaw, p. 370.

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773*

After performing the dance of the tiger snake, *dunbania*, they each painted
the death mark of the snake on their faces[3] and cast their spears at the sleeping [776
man. These passed through both his chest and carrying-bag, killing him instantly. 302]

The two brothers, waiting until the wives of *Djunmundia* returned from 628]
food-gathering, captured them and, putting them aboard the canoe, paddled to an island north of Bremer Island. During the night, however, the women escaped, swam to the mainland, and told the *Bukalatji*,[4] relatives of the murdered *Djunmundia*, how their husband had been murdered. When the two brothers discovered their loss they returned to their camp on Bremer Island.

During the next few days the *Bukalatji* worked hard making a number of [507]
bark canoes. Waiting until there was no moon, they launched them and paddled to Dambalia. Leaving their canoes to the north of the island, the *Bukalatji* crept through the low scrub to surround and kill *Tjuna-tjuna* and *Wururunga*. But
the brothers heard them and, in their flight, came by chance on the bark canoes, [177]
which they started to cut to pieces with the large steel knives which the Malays had given them. They had almost finished their work of destruction when the head man of the *Bukalatji* came up and begged them not to destroy his own canoe, so that he could take all of his people home. The brothers relented and allowed the *Bukalatji* to depart.

After some time the two brothers left Bremer Island and went to live near Cape Wilberforce, where they met and married two women from the nearby islands. The wives were out collecting oysters one day when the *Bukalatji* again attacked the brothers and this time succeeded in killing them. This so enraged the women that they attacked the *Bukalatji* with the knives belonging to their
husbands and killed them all. *Tjuna-tjuna* and *Wururunga* were then trans- [823]
formed into goannas and their camps on Bremer Island into trees. Between those trees there is a path, which must be kept clean by the local aborigines.

On Pl. 98A the two brothers, at *a*, are paddling their canoe to the mainland. On the left, at *b*, they are holding their spear-throwers and avenging spears in their hands. The elder brother, *Tjuna-tjuna*, is on the right. At *c* is their enemy, *Djunmundia*, transfixed by the two avenging spears, one of which has passed through both his chest and his carrying-bag (cross-hatched oval). In the lower right panel *d*, black circles enclosing the goannas are totemic trees mentioned in the myth; the parallel lines, the path between them; and the curves, nearby sand-hills.

The Man, Balonarati, and the Paper-bark Trees of Matamataui [778

Between Trial and Caledon Bays is a river, Gainmaui. Near this river is the [133
Matamataui swamp,[5] about half a mile across and filled with paper-bark trees. 137]

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[3] The death mark, shown on the carved and painted head of *Banaramin*, Pl. 139D, E, is painted on the faces of all the men who take part in an avenging ceremony.

[4] These are the mythical people who killed *Muruma*, the fisherman. See Pl. 96D.

[5] This swamp is also mentioned in the myth of the three men and the bush-fire. Pl. 93B.

[text continues on p. 307]

THE ART OF YIRRKALLA

(b) DEATH AND BURIAL

There are three important events in the life of every male aboriginal of 844
Arnhem Land—in fact, in the life of any tribalized Australian aboriginal: birth, 881
when he leaves the land of the spirits and enters the every-day world; initiation, 764
when he is admitted into the sacred or ritualistic world, where age makes him
increasingly important; and death, when he leaves the every-day world, and again 561
enters into the land of the spirits.

Although there are few rituals associated with birth, those of initiation and the later age-grading ceremonies are long and complicated, for it is by these ceremonies that men are admitted deeper and deeper into the secret life of the tribe.

At death, the burial rituals extend over many weeks, their purpose being not 764
only to send the spirit so happily to its future home that it will not be a danger [775]
to the living, but also to allow the living to adjust themselves to their loss.

The burial ceremonies at Yirrkalla have three main phases: (i) the ceremonies
at death, (ii) the cleansing of the bones, and (iii) the final burial, after which
the spirit of the dead leaves for its aboriginal 'heaven'. If the dead are of the [616
dua moiety, the spirit goes to Purelko, and if of the *jiritja*, to Nalkuma. 775]

(i) *The Ceremonies at Death*

When a man dies his relatives gather round the dead body, wailing loudly, [152]
the women cutting their scalps with sharpened bones until the blood flows freely.
After a short period of wailing the men form a group apart from the women [533]
and chant the long series of songs which belong to the totemic group of their
dead companion. Next morning the men proceed with the rites of burial, first [302]
by rubbing red ochre over the body of the corpse, and on that painting his
totemic design.[13] The men also make two bark effigies[14] which they put under
the arms of the corpse. They explain to him that the effigies are his children,
whom they have killed and placed beside him to prevent him being lonely and
wishing to return to haunt the living. The corpse is then wrapped in a thick
layer of paper-bark and tied with string.

While all this is being done, other men are erecting a platform of logs about 417
five feet in height and covering it with a layer of leaves. Then, while the men 764
chant another series of totemic songs belonging to the dead man, two aborigines

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[13] This totemic design is the same as that painted on his body during circumcision. See
body paintings associated with circumcision, Pl. 128. Warner (1937), pp. 115-16, in his description [304]
and interpretation of the mortuary rituals of the Murngin, an adjacent people, records that the
totemic design is painted on the body of the dead man so that the spirits, or *Mokoi*, can
identify him.

[14] Similar to the bark figures, Fig. 65C. D. Frazer (1936), p. 59, records: 'In Tahiti . . .
the priest took a number of small slips of plantain leaf-stalk, fixed two or three pieces under [171]
each arm of the corpse, placed a few on the breast, and then, addressing the corpse, said,
"There are your family, there is your child, there is your wife, there is your father, and there is
your mother. Be satisfied yonder (that is, in the world of the spirits). Look not toward those
who are left in this world." '

*773
*532 The yams are engraved in panel *a*, and their foliage indicated by the decorative chevron-like designs at *b* and *c*. The pattern *d* on the upper right, with a meandering line down the centre, is a small fresh-water stream near the totemic place.

The Man, Tualpa, and the Sacred Tree of Blue Mud Bay

[623] This painted pipe represents a sacred tree which once grew on the shores of Blue Mud Bay. One day a man (unnamed), not knowing that the tree was sacred, cut it down to make a special spear, called *bunungaia*. *Tualpa*, the owner of the tree, was so angry over the vandalism that he speared the culprit. The dead tree now lies at the mouth of a lagoon emptying into Blue Mud Bay. During the wet season it is submerged by the fresh water flowing from the swamps into the sea. When the swamps are dry, the log is sometimes covered by the high tide.

The transverse bands, *e*, *e*, on Pl. 128B represent the tide marks on the tree; the cross-hatched panel, *a*, the fresh water; and *b*, *c* and *d*, the sea-water, which during the dry season alternately covers and uncovers the tree-trunk.

The Four Jiritja Men of Melville Bay

During *bamun* (creation times) four *jiritja* men,[83] *Djamburi*, *Wanatjai*, *Dandarunga* and *Kainoltja*, created a number of natural features at each of their camps along the shores of Melville Bay.

Plate 128A is the complete design of the painted pipe; *a* is *Djamburi*, *b* is *Wanatjai*,[84] *c* *Dandarunga*, and *e* *Kainoltja*. Each of these men is smoking a pipe. The four squares at *f* are four wells, each man having his own. Their footprints are in panel *e*.

3. BODY PAINTINGS

● 302
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[424] In north-eastern Australia the art of body painting is most important, for it is by means of the designs painted on the novices during the various age-grading ceremonies, and on the fully initiated men whilst engaged in their totemic rituals, that the totem, the clan group, *mala*, and the linguistic group, *mata*, of each individual can be recognized. As far as the present evidence goes (the investigation is far from complete) it seems that each *mata*, which may include several *mala*, has its own specific design, which is the personal property of that group and cannot be used by any other.[85] During the circumcision ceremonies[86]

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424]

[83] It is the mythical men of the *jiritja* moiety only who smoke. It is of interest to notice that the four men, depicted on this pipe are not smoking the long Malay pipe, but one which resembles those used by our own party, called by the aborigines *Baijini* pipes. Nowadays all aborigines smoke, but a member of one moiety will not use a pipe decorated with the designs of the opposite moiety without the owner's permission. If he did so, the spirit of the pipe would make him ill.

[84] See bark painting of *Wanatjai*, Pl. 95B.

[85] See myth of the origin of the design of the crabs, *gunjun*, p. 298.

[86] In north-eastern Arnhem Land the boys are circumcised when they are from six to eight years of age.

[text continues on p.402]

● 302 881 619 *532 I witnessed at Yirrkalla each of the four boys was painted with the *mata* design of the particular language group to which he belonged.* The design would be his throughout life and even at death would be painted on his body. I found out the *mata* of each body painting, its meaning and its associated myth.

The Water-lily, Jouku, and the Wild Bees, Kamou, of Blue Mud Bay

302 *532 *773 616 The myth of an unidentified totemic water-lily, *jouku*, belonging to the *jiritja* moiety of the Matamataui swamps is associated with several other totemic beings, the man *Wanamungaria*,[87] the man *Ngulumung*,[88] the teredo worm, *kaula-warak*, the queen fish, *tinimbu*,[89] the opossum, *marungo*, and the night-bird, *karawak*.[90] The wild bees, *kamou*, are also associated with the Matamataui swamps. These totemic bees, when disturbed by a bush-fire, flew to Milinginbi to escape destruction.[91]

Plate 129A illustrates the body painting of a *jiritja* boy of the *mangilili-dalwongu matas* of the Blue Mud Bay areas, the designs on the torso belonging to the *mangilili mata* (Fig. 64K) and those on the legs to the *dalwongu* (Fig. 64J). The central vertical panel represents a river at the totemic place of the water-lily, *jouku*, the U-shaped figure at the top being a large rock in the bed of that river. On the right-hand side of the abdomen is a fresh-water fish, *bittu*. The remainder of the paintings on the body are symbolical of either the blossoms or the leaves of the water-lily, *jouku*. The diamonds on the upper legs refer to hives of wild bees at the Matamataui swamps.[92]

The Man, Djunkgao, and his Sister, Madalait

The body designs[93] shown on Pl. 129B were painted on a *dua* boy of the *riredjingu mata* of Port Bradshaw (Fig. 64D). The three horizontal cross-hatched bands under the left armpit symbolize the waves of the sea which attracted *Djunkgao's* attention when he was beaching his canoe at Bilapinja Island.[94] The vertical panels immediately below are coastal sand-hills at Jelangbara, north of Port Bradshaw, and the long vertical panels on the right-hand side of the body are further parallel sand-hills which *Djunkgao* and his sister admired.[95] The horizontal bands across the left hip are the lines of sand which ran down the sides of a drifting sand-hill at Jelangbara, where the lizard, *tjunda*, walked along the crest.[96] The designs on the upper legs also indicate the sand running down the side of the same sand-hill.

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* *Australia: Aboriginal Paintings—Arnhem Land*, 1954, p. 13.

[87] Engraved pipe, Fig. 63A.

[88] Engraved pipe, Fig. 62D.

[89] Bark painting, Pl. 108C.

[90] Bark-painting, Pl. 115E.

[91] Bark painting, Pl. 93B.

[92] Bark painting, Pl. 93B.

[93] These and similar designs are used extensively in picturing the myth of *Djunkgao* and *Madalait* at Port Bradshaw.

[94] Pl. 85E.

[95] Pl. 86D.

[96] Pl. 86B.

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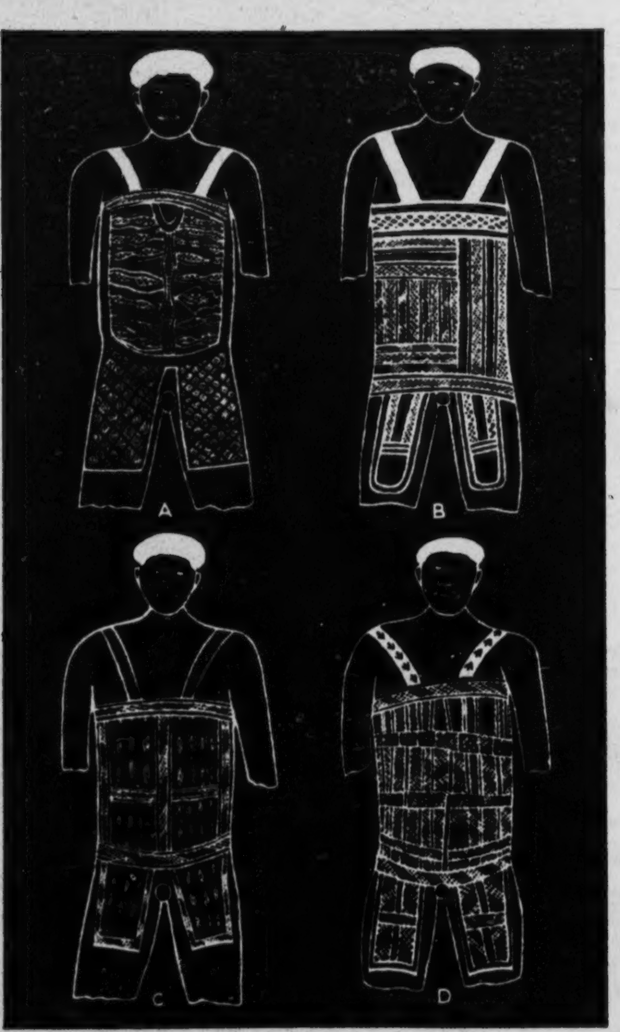

PLATE 129. Body designs of initiates, Yirrkalla

A The water-lilies, jouku, and the fish, biltu
B Djunkgao and Madalait
C The bush-fire and the eucalyptus trees
D The geese, wurumatji

design of the *riredjingu mata* of Port Bradshaw changes to sloping lines which 61
symbolize fallen palm leaves. This *ngeimil* design is used on a bark painting, 532*
Pl. 123A, and an engraved pipe, Fig. 64A. 773*

Figure 64F is an unidentified design associated with the *Djunkgao* sisters west of Arnhem Bay. Although it is not certain that this is a *mata* design, the fact that it is used on two bark paintings, Pl. 87A, B, associated with waterholes belonging to the *Djunkgao* sisters, suggests that it might be so.

Figure 64G is the *djambarpingu mata* design. It represents the geese, *wurumatji*, and their tracks at the Duwalaila swamps east of Arnhem Bay. This design 302
was painted on a sacred object, Pl. 128C, and on the body of an initiate, Pl. 129D. The *djambarpingu mata* is an excellent example of how a *mata* (language group) spreads over a number of *mala* (clan groups). According to Warner,[12] the *djambarpingu* language group includes the following adjacent clans or *malas*: *liagaomir, djirin, gwiyula, djapu, naladaer* and *djawark*. Further research will, no doubt, reveal that this characteristic applies to a number of the language groups.

THE POSSIBLE ORIGIN OF THE MATA DESIGNS 174

An examination of Indonesian art revealed that many of the *jiritja mata* 177
designs from north-eastern Arnhem Land are present in the art of the Central 532*
Celebes. As the Celebes and other Indonesian islands are north-west, and the natives from those islands sailed to Australia on the north-west wet-season wind, returning to their homes on the dry-season south-easterly, it is not surprising that their art motifs should have diffused among the aborigines of north-eastern Arnhem Land, particularly among those of the *jiritja* moiety, who have adopted all the later innovations of the Asiatic trepangers and the white man—for example tobacco, wooden canoes, the Malay smoking pipe and so on. As mentioned previously (p. 325), the *dua* moiety possesses the older things, bark canoes, spear-throwers and stone spears. Nevertheless, one of the *dua mata* designs, the *djapu*, Fig. 64A, was found on an engraved smoking pipe from southern New Guinea.

Figure 64O, a cloth design from the Central Celebes,[13] somewhat resembles the *mangalili jiritja mata* design painted on the left thigh of *Laitjun*, Pl. 135A.

Figure 64Q, another cloth design from the same area,[14] resembles the *gumaitj mata* design (Fig. 64N).

Figure 64R, also a cloth design from the Central Celebes,[15] is similar to the triangular *jiritja* cloud symbol from Cape Arnhem.[16] This design, which is common in Central Celebian art, was also found on a wooden drum from the Tugeri tribe, Dutch New Guinea.[17] According to the aboriginal who engraved

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[12] Warner (1937), pp. 43-6.
[13] Kaudern (1944), A, Fig. 166.
[14] Kaudern (1944), 2, Pl. LXIII.
[15] Kaudern (1944), 3, Pl. XXIV.
[16] Pl. 107D.
[17] Collection of South Australian Museum, No. A9266.

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The fact that designs *a* and *b* are similar in appearance and linked in the myths suggests that the two *matas* are closely associated.

c, a cross-hatched panel of the *lamuriri mata* of Cape Arnhem, represents a reef in the sea.

d, a cross-hatched panel between *c* and *e*, represents the open sea (locality unknown). It belongs to the *maku-unulmer mata*.

e, a cross-hatched panel belonging to the *malakun mata*, represents the salt-water side of a totemic place at Blue Mud Bay.

Designs *c*, *d* and *e* are not listed by any previous investigator, nor are they present on any of the bark paintings. This, coupled with the fact that the artist could not provide additional data about them, would suggest that the information is incomplete and should be accepted with reserve.

f, a series of lozenge-shaped designs, belongs to the *mangalili mata* of Blue Mud Bay.[49] It represents the flower, leaf and bulb of an unidentified water-lily, *jouku*.

g, almost identical to the *mangalili* design, belongs to the *wonguri mata* of Blue Mud Bay. It also represents the water-lily bulb, *jouku*.[50]

h, a line of lozenge-shaped designs on the left leg, belonging to the *madarlpa mata* of Blue Mud Bay, pictures the toredo worm, *milka*, at Blue Mud Bay.[51] The design of the *madarlpa mata* is similar to that used in the fire symbols in the bark painting of the bandicoot, Pl. 116B.

j, on the right leg, belongs to the *gumaitj mata* of Caledon Bay and is associated with the myth of the crocodile, *baron*, the bird, *djiriku*, fire and paper-bark trees.[52]

k, the upper design on the back of *Laitjun*, belongs to an unidentified *mata*, *baijnijur*, near Milingimbi. It represents a hive of wild honey.

m, the lower design, belongs to *jerkurunga* (Warner's Yaernungo) *mata* of the Wessel Islands.[53]

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[49] This design, bearing the same meaning, was used on the body painting of a *jiritja* youth who underwent circumcision at Yirrkalla (Pl. 129C). It is also engraved on a smoking pipe, Fig. 50C. Berndt (1948), p. 318, lists the design as *mangalilji*, meaning a log under water. Later, Elkin and the Berndts (1950), p. 23, correct this statement and list the *mangalilji* as a *mata* associated with the *laitjlaitj* parrot. Warner does not mention this language group.

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88]

[50] Warner (1937), p. 42, lists the *wonguri* language group, *mata*, as north of Caledon Bay, but his totems do not include the water-lily. Berndt (1948), p. 318, records that the *wonguri* design refers to the toredo worm, while later, with Elkin (1950), p. 23, they list *wonguri* as a *mata* design referring to a *laitjlaitj* parrot.

[51] Warner (1937), p. 49, lists the *marderpa* as a clan in the Blue Mud Bay area, not a language group. Its important high totems are crocodile and fire. Berndt (1948), p. 318, records that the *madarlpa* design refers to fire or ashes inside seaweed and mud. Later, in collaboration with Elkin (1950), p. 23, however, he lists it as the *madarlpa mata* which, they say, refers to the *wauba* bird.

[52] This *gumaitj* design is used on a bark painting of the crocodile, Pl. 119B; of the bush fire and paper-bark trees, Pl. 93B; on the engraved pipe of the crocodile, Fig. 50C; and on a body painting, Pl. 129C. Warner (1937), p. 42, lists the *komaits* (*gumaitj*) *mata* of Port Bradshaw and Cape Arnhem. This is no doubt a section of the Caledon Bay *mata*. Berndt (1948), p. 318, records *gumaitj* designs, some of which relate to fire and honey, and the others to paper bark. Elkin and the Berndts (1950), p. 23, alter this and state that the *gumaitj mata* means the east wind.

[53] Warner (1937), p. 47, records the totems of the *yaernungo mata*. I did not gather any information on the subject.

CARVED AND PAINTED FIGURES

The Mosquito Sacred Object

532*

Plate 132D is a sacred object of the mosquito totem of Milingimbi. It belongs 778
to the *dua narra* ceremonies. Collected by F. M. Setzler.

3. CARVED AND PAINTED HUMAN HEADS

The Two Brothers, Bauaramin and Wururunga

The two brothers, *Bauaramin*[78] and *Wururunga*, set out to kill their enemy, 628
Djunmundia, who had previously murdered their father.[79] 532*

Plate 139D, E, A, H illustrates the carved heads of the two brothers, *Bauaramin* and *Wururunga*. 773*

The designs on the face of *Bauaramin*, Pl. 139D, E, and the white line down the nose, which represents the deadly tiger-snake, *dunbania*, are always painted [302] ● on the face of the aborigines when they are setting out on an avenging expedition. They are known as the 'death-marks'.[80] The darker cross-hatched panels on the side of the head, Pl. 139D, indicate the base of the thunder-clouds, and the lighter coloured ones, their white tops.

The white dots on the face of *Wururunga*, Pl. 139H, are hail-stones, *milarik*, and the hole at the base of the nose, an attempt to represent a skull, for *Wururunga* has long since been dead.

On the side of the head of *Wururunga*, Pl. 139A, the darker cross-hatched panel represents falling rain, and the lighter coloured ones a hail-storm. The white dots on the side of the head also indicate hail-stones. When these hail-stones fall to the ground in *dua* territory they are sometimes transformed into white stones, *milarik*.[81] The dots on the neck are falling rain, and the white cap, the tops of cumulus clouds.

The Spirit Man, Duwuliana

This *dua Mokoi*, *Duwuliana*, lives in a forest at Arnhem Bay. As his only 776
food is the honey of the wild bees, he carries only a honey basket.[82] 262

At the beginning of the dry season the basket is clean, having been well washed by the heavy storms of the wet season. As the dry season advances the basket becomes progressively darker in colour, due to the accumulated honey and dirt, for *Duwuliana* is a careless fellow who never washes his honey basket, knowing that the next wet season will save him the trouble. At the beginning of the dry season the honey in the hives in the trees is a golden-yellow in colour, but it gradually darkens and becomes less pleasant to eat as the season advances. The aborigines blame *Duwuliana* for this change, claiming that if he were more cleanly and washed his basket regularly they would always have clear golden honey.

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[78] In the myth of the bark painting, Pl. 98A, *Bauaramin* is called *Tjuna-tjuna*.
[79] See myth of *Tjuna-tjuna* and *Wururunga*, p. 303. [80] See myth, p. 305.
[81] See the white stones, *milarik*, at the totem place of the thunder-man at Jalboa. Pl. 91F. [285
[82] A tightly woven basket which will hold honey. 415]

Blood is taken from the vagina and smeared on the *'Wauwəlak's* head-band; 532
this is represented on the back of the head, and by the dots on the forehead. It 778
should also be smeared on the feathered head ornament (as in figure 1), which is missing from this figure..

Artist: *'Mauwu:lan*, as above.

Full length, 36 inches; length from top of head to shoulders, 8 inches; width of shoulders, 5 inches; diameter of head, 4·5 inches.

The 'Laintʃuŋ-'Banaitʃa Figures.

Plate I, Figure 3. This remarkably fine and unusual figure of the Ancestral Being, *'Laintʃuŋ*, is unique in its treatment, remarkably well executed, and of high æsthetic value. Along with the *'Wauwəlak* sisters and the *'Banaitʃa* (i.e. Figure 4), it is one of the most important carvings, and is a definite revelation of the heights to which aboriginal sacred art can obtain.

Like all these carvings, it loses something in its photographic representation; the natural colours of red, black, white and yellow give to the originals a " life " and movement that is difficult and almost impossible to translate in words or line-drawing. To see these figures in their own environment, invested with their sacred value, surrounded by postulants, amid the chanting of songs, is an experience which is outstanding and important in the life of the observer.

The *'Laintʃuŋ* figure has arms carved out from the main trunk of its body, and shows the usual fundamental colours of white, black, red and yellow. The front of the head to the chin is painted white, while the back is left red-ochred. The top of the head is flat and has human hair, fastened on with blood. At each corner of the mouth are parakeet[19] feathers, bunched together with " sugar-bag " (wild honey) wax and stuck into the wood; this suggests a moustache – the upper lip being bare of hair, with long tufts left at each side between the lips and cheeks.[20] A feathered ornament extending from the chin, and jutting outwards to a point below the shoulders, represents a beard. The first bunch of feathers is from the parakeet, and the second seagull feathers; each is held together by a base of " sugar-bag " wax, while the latter is painted white. Feathers are tied to the end of its beard in ritual, and are called *'raŋga:r* (not *'raŋga*). The figure wears the red-ochred head band with white ochre and vertical lines, called *'kalamba*, that is used only for dancing. [302]
A red-ochred band extends from ear to ear, across the nose; this is the usual facia decoration, called *'ənəbi*, used when dancing in sacred ceremonies. On its left arm the figure wears a parakeet-feathered armband, called *'ju:tə*. This figure should also have a *'mindyalpi* dancing dilly bag strung around its neck; but the original is missing.

[237]

[19] From the sacred *'lindəri:tʃ* bird, whose feathers are in great demand, used for making feathered string objects and in adorning *'raŋga*.

[20] Feathers are tied to the tips of a moustache, as a beard, in ceremony.

Everyday Life

262 511 Being a purely nomadic people, the greater part of the time of these aborigines is devoted to the procuring of food. The coastal districts of Arnhem Land are much better supplied than the arid areas of the inland, but even there a serious shortage of food is by no means infrequent. Almost all living creatures are eaten, as well as a large variety of roots and berries, but there is ever the daily uncertainty concerning the supplying of the body's needs.

461 517 When not engaged in hunting, the men spend many hours fashioning their weapons and utensils, in which work they display a marked degree of skill and ability. The preparations for, and the actual performance of, ceremonials occupy much time and energy, and in these their love of decorative and dramatic art finds truly remarkable expression.

462 The women are the real burden-bearers. When the camping ground is reached, it is the women who have to prepare the camp and obtain the necessary wood and water. Every day they engage in the search for food, such as the smaller animals, roots, berries, and shell fish. No matter how successful the men have been in their pursuit of larger game, the women must not fail in their daily contribution to the needs of the family. To them also falls the care of the younger children, and the construction of most of the utensils for ordinary use.

854 Great affection is shown by both parents for their children, who are rarely corrected, and whose every whim is responded to.
[142 145] When an aboriginal baby is born it is of a light yellowish colour, but during the course of a week or so darkens to the normal
[302] chocolate-brown of the race. For the purpose of ensuring this deepening of colour, the infant, when two or three days old, is rubbed all over with a mixture of ashes and powdered charcoal.
[856] Immediately after birth the nose is flattened and the nostrils distended by finger pressure. The form of the skull is also moulded by the mid-wife's hands.

853 145 Babies are nursed by their mothers until they are up to four years of age, and during that period are extremely plump and soft-fleshed. After weaning, however, they quickly develop into the spindly-limbed form characteristic of the children of many PRIMITIVE RACES.

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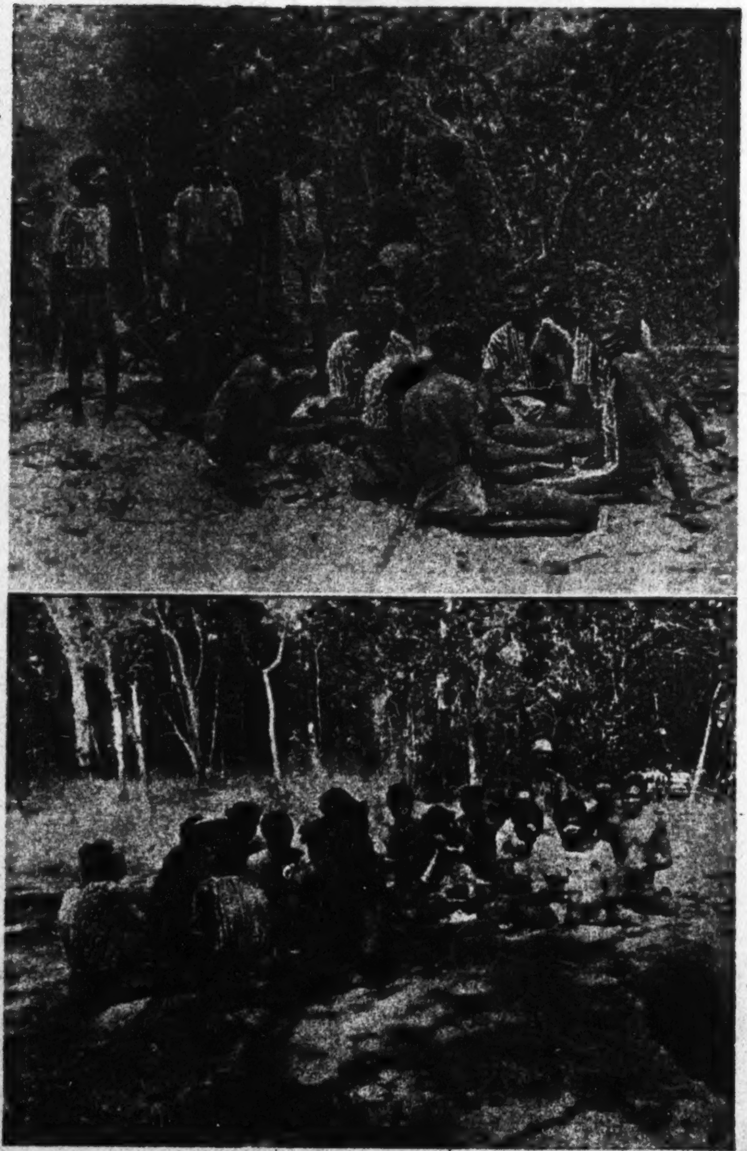

PLATE V.

[Facing p. 33]

796 The ceremony begins when messengers are first sent out to the
various camps to notify other groups, and when the chosen initiates
[203] (young boys who have gone through the *djunggawon* age-grading
[561] ceremony) are taken away from their home camp. But it may be
some time before the more serious parts of the rituals can commence.

796 In the meantime, while awaiting the visitors, the *dua* headmen and
the Kunapipi leader go out from the main camp and make a ceremonial
778 ground or "centre" (that is "Sandy" or "Sunday") place;
this entails the clearing of a ground which the men are in the habit of
[534] using for such a purpose. The Kunapipi leader makes a bullroarer,
its cord attached to a stick by which it will be swung; its painting and
[533] anointing with blood (as described above) are accompanied by singing.

Some time afterwards, the first Kunapipi ceremony takes place in
796 the main camp, "to let the women know that it is beginning". Men
533 sing "outside" Wauwalak and "outside" Kunapipi songs which
summarize preceding events, while the women dance. These are
535 called *gudambiri*, or ordinary secular dances; although they do not pretend to be really sacred, they are nevertheless most important, for they put everyone into the mood for the coming rituals. Non-sacred *garma* (or clan songs) are also sung and danced. These may continue for weeks before the main rituals commence: but towards the end, the men, women, and children sing the "outside" Kunapipi songs with their rapid rhythm.

Out in the bush on the sacred ground[4] a man swings the bull-
796 roarer. There is a hush; the deep-throated sound of Julunggul is
[534] heard by all in the camp. In answer, the Kunapipi leader calls, followed
by the cries of all the women: "they cry out just like those two Wauwalak, for Julunggul is sneaking towards the camp, as he did towards the *murlk*". *Jiritja* men answer, too, symbolizing *jiritja* snakes.

796 Almost immediately after this, the *jiritja* men take out the young
881 boys to meet the Julunggul (that is, if they have not been sent away
to other camps; if they have gone, this part of the ceremony takes
place when they return, with the visitors who are to participate).
● [302] The boys have been smeared with red-ochre and arm blood and,

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[778] 4. The sacred ground is in the shape of a triangle. This is similar to the *djunggawon* dancing ground, and is said to resemble Julunggul's body. One side of the elongated triangle is classified as *dua*, and the opposite side as *jiritja*; but this is only for ritual purposes. At the apex of the triangle a hole is dug, symbolizing Muruwul: this is the *nanggaru*. The "inside" meaning of this triangular dancing place is said to be the Mother's uterus: men go into the uterus for rituals. This conforms to the meaning of the ground in other regions, for example, in western-central Northern Territory. The Kunapipi ground is arranged differently from that of the *djunggawon*, but retains its fundamental shape.

of invocation.] Most of the actors are smeared thickly with wallaby 796
or kangaroo grease, and then with red-ochre. When they become hot 536
from dancing the grease runs and drips off them, symbolizing the [302]
sweat of a pair of totemic animals (or human beings) after coitus.
The shining grease is termed *laklak*, which is an alternate name for
the younger Wauwalak sister.

When the second new moon appears from the beginning of the 796
Kunapipi, depending, of course, on the proposed length of the ceremony, the men again go out to the sacred ground. Warner (*op. cit.* 778
p. 301) mentions that the Muruwul well (or *nanggaru*) is abandoned [805]
at this stage; but in the eastern counterparts witnessed and discussed,
it is retained. This appears to depend mainly on the inclination of the Kunapipi leaders, who at Yirrkalla usually take their pattern from Rose River. A large crescent-shaped trench is dug, the *ba'uma* (also called *kanala*, or *kanalara*, the central-western Northern Territory term). This is an extremely important symbol in the Kunapipi. It is usually about ten to twelve feet long, four to five feet deep, and about four feet wide, with earth piled along its concave sides. And it may signify any of the following: the track mark of the female Julunggul; the mark left by her fall, after swallowing the Wauwalak; the crescent-shaped position in which the Wauwalak rested in their *murlk*, before the Snake swallowed them; the clitoris of the Wauwalak; and, its real "inside" meaning, the uterus of the Wauwalak (as a substitute for the Djanggawul Fertility Mothers). Another smaller hole is also dug during some ceremonies; this is called the "younger hole", the uterus of the younger sister, whereas the larger *ba'uma*, also called *da:p* (or *dapi*, foreskin, symbolizing a dilly-bag or uterus), is the uterus of the elder sister. But the principal hole is the *ba'uma*, and is always present in the Kunapipi.

When the *ba'uma* is completed, snake totem actors dance or writhe 796
in the hole. Then two actors, one representing a man and another a
woman, dance the "mating dance". The man has an erect bark penis 831
and moves in pursuit of the "woman", who is desirous of coitus: 535
they move towards the trench and dance around it, and at its entrance
they simulate sexual intercourse. The Mother is said to be present [776]
in the *ba'uma*, and her life-giving powers are made operative by the
sexual actions of the two dancers. ("The acting of coitus by the totemites is like the uterus being fertilized": the Mother is having sexual intercourse, so that she may produce.)

Various other dances are held in the *ba'uma*, at which the young initiates are present; the majority are related to coitus. There is, for example, the *darl:t* dance. Two men, representing male and female wagtails, sit opposite each other in the trench with legs folded beneath them; their knees touch, and in the dancing they simulate coitus. There is also the *molit'manina* (*molit* being an alternate name for Julunggul) dance, of the male and female Julunggul Rock of the ground, but is careful not to look over towards his wife. 796

Both of these variations are known at Yirrkalla, but are recog- 786 nized as taking place outside their own Kunapipi area.

A man or woman will rarely refuse the ritual Kunapipi obligations 837 of having coitus, or giving and receiving presents. Their frank attitude towards the question of sexual relations, and their understanding of the importance of such ritualized copulation, predetermines their full acceptance. Moreover, there is an obvious content of enjoyment, for both men and women are stimulated by the pre-coitus dancing and interchange of jokes. Should there be refusal, [832] caused perhaps by the dislike of a certain Kunapipi partner, that man or woman is soon obliged to conform, for the thwarted partner will threaten to send Julunggul to the other and so cause sickness. [753]

The initial incestuous relations of the Wauwalak Sisters with clansmen, as we have seen, are cited in explanation of this ceremonial copulation.[15] [773] There is also the deeper intent of fertility: the symbolic spiritual fructification of the Mother. There is a tendency [789] to regard this sexual exchange of wives as providing an element of "danger"; for here are men and women copulating with the wives and husbands of others, virtually under their eyes and with one another's full (that is, in theory) sanction, and in "older times" with [835] tabu-ed relatives. All is made possible on the sacred ground, under the "divine" sanction of the great Ancestral Beings and the Mother. The inclusion of ceremonial copulation in the Kunapipi is said to "raise its status to that of *mari* (mother's mother's brother, of the older generation)", but not to the high position retained by the *ngu:rlmak*, or the *dua* and *jiritja nara* Djanggawul and Laintjung rituals.

* * * *

On the morning following the ritual intercourse, the final group of 796 Kunapipi ceremonies is performed.

Just before dawn, all the *dua* men assemble at one end of the sacred 881 ground, and the *jiritja* men at the other. The women have returned 778 to the main camp, and the young initiates are sitting with their guardians. All the men are painted with white paint, spraying it over one another from their mouths; [302] and most have spears. They begin to clap their spears, one against the other, and dance towards each other, changing sides. The bullroarers begin to twirl at this juncture, and the women answer their sound from the main camp. The men's dancing continues till sunrise, [535] when the two moiety groups dance down to the boundary between the ceremonial ground and the main camp, [616] taking the young boys with them. Here, to the accompaniment of the bullroarers' sound and ritual calling, they erect the

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[15] *Vide* L. Warner, *op. cit.* pp. 307–8, who also provides a native interpretation of this aspect.

796 see the young initiates coming out of the bushes, emerging from the
uterus, all covered with red-ochre that symbolizes "the spring blood
881 of the Wauwalak". And the men call out to the women saying, "See
778 those young men covered with the saliva of that Snake"; "but really,"
and the women are not officially supposed to know this, "they are
covered with the spring blood". The women begin to call out, and
return dancing to the main camp.

The *djepalmandji* are knocked down, and the young boys are taken to the men's camp. That night, "outside" Kunapipi songs are sung, and the men dance around the boys. Then with the men leading, and the initiates following, they all dance off in single file to the sacred ground.

Here the initiates' headbands are removed, and returned to the
Kunapipi leader for use in the next rituals. After some sacred sing-
● [302] ing, all the men, together with the young boys, paint themselves
completely with red-ochre; at the same time, in the main camp, all
the other men, women and children, whether *dua* or *jiritja*, do like-
wise. On everyone's back is outlined the Julunggul Snake, "so that
[532] you can't see it". (The snake design is merged with the general red-
ochring, so that only a bare outline is visible.) This design is sometimes extended across the chest or breasts, from left to right, to join the main snake pattern on the back; "in the beginning those Wauwalak did this, because of that big Julunggul". This painting is termed the "baptizing" (that is, ceremonial purification), and all are brushed with smoking ironwood branches which have been held in the fire.

The men return from the sacred ground to the main camp, and sitting in groups begin to sing the "outside" Kunapipi, while the women dance in the same way as they did during the first rituals. The young initiates return that evening to the single men's camp. The purification ceremony and singing may be held on succeeding evenings for about a week to a fortnight, when it is felt that sufficient precautions have been taken to prevent sickness.

This concludes the Yirrkalla Kunapipi ritual.

* * * *

773 Although we shall return in succeeding chapters to the ritual and
interpretation of the Kunapipi, it may be as well, at this juncture, to
796 survey briefly the foregoing material. It is apparent that Kunapipi
794 ritual has been closely related to the Wauwalak mythology; this
expresses symbolically the aborigines' conception of an "eternal"
[805] sequence of the seasons, and the reproductive faculties of Nature, of
which man is an incidental but dominating feature. This fundamental
[776] belief is crystallized in a Fertility Mother (the Wauwalak as a trans-
mutation of the Djanggawul) who embodies this concept, while the
male representative of fructification also is present.

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PLATE X

[p. 84(A)]

[For captions, see category 116, p. xii]

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PLATE XV

[p.84(F)]
[For caption see category 116, p. xiii]

6: Berndt E-5 (1946-1947) 1951

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PLATE XVI

[p. 84(G)]

[For captions see category 116, p. xiii]

right down. The girl's legs are tied to the posts, so that her legs are 831
outstretched between them. (We know of no other reference to the 794
actual tying down of the Kunapipi girl who has been chosen for 796
ceremonial coitus. As a young girl is specified, this probably refers [114]
to ritual defloration which has been mentioned briefly elsewhere—*vide* Chapters IV, V and X. It suggests also that force is used to hold the girl, a feature which should not normally accompany this rite; moreover, promiscuity is such a feature of this area, with the breaking down of indigenous regulations governing sexual conduct, that one would not expect it to be necessary.)

The men then paint themselves, and line up for dancing. There may be two or three hundred men on the sacred ground. The headman begins to beat his clapping sticks, while the dancing men clap their hands rhythmically to the music and song, and call out intermittently. Then the first man, at the head of the long line of dancing men, leaves [833]
the line and goes into the shade and copulates with the Kunapipi girl; the other men continue clapping their hands and calling out.

Under the girl, immediately beneath her vulva, a small depression has been dug and in it has been placed a shallow paperbark dish; this catches the semen and vaginal juices that come out of the girl.

When the first man has left the hut, another takes his place: this is continued until all the men in the line have entered the hut and copulated, and their semen has flowed from the girl into the paperbark container.

By this time, the container is full; and after a rest, the men remove [302]
it from the hut and begin to paint themselves with the semen; then they continue their dancing, which goes on from early morning until sunset. Ceremonial coitus takes place each day for several weeks, different girls being chosen for each ceremony." Other rituals relating to the Kunapipi are also performed in a sequence similar to that already discussed.

It should be mentioned that the reason given for thus decorating [842]
the postulants' bodies with designs in semen and vaginal juices is [789]
the belief in the fructifying potency of the former. The act of ceremonial coitus is itself symbolic of fertilization, and the subsequent increase of human and the natural species; semen is the essence which causes pregnancy; and this natural and logical belief is an integral part of the rituals of the Kunapipi fertility cult.

There is also an association between semen and the saliva of the [773]
Julunggul Snake (*vide* Chapter III, *et seq.*); it was with this substance that Julunggul smeared the Wauwalak and the child prior to swallowing. This "saliva" is represented by white pipe-clay in parts of [386]
the Kunapipi, and it is with this that Kunapipi neophytes are painted.

Significance of the Djanggawul

Long before the actual rituals commence, men go out to the 796
sacred ground to prepare the objects. The wooden poles and
posts are removed from their hiding places in the water or mud, 794
and weeks are spent in re-painting them. Women are asked to
prepare long feathered strings, which are never directly given
to the men, but always 'stolen' by them. This is conventional
behaviour, and relates to the Djanggawul Brother and his companions'
stealing the sacred *rangga*, bags and so on from the Two
Sisters in the beginning (see Chapter 2). The preliminary preparations
take weeks, and are accompanied by singing and invocations.
Neophytes are brought in from time to time, and their chests painted [302]
with sacred clan designs: they continue to wear these when they
return to the camp, and never wash or rub them off, but allow them
to fade naturally. In this way the neophytes contract many ritual
obligations, since they must recompense their 'initiators'—that is,
those who are revealing the mysteries to them. They must also [784]
observe a number of tabus relating to their general behaviour, and to
the partaking of food.[1] Later, the same neophytes are shown the *rangga*
emblems and their designs, and the meanings are explained to them.

By this time, the neophytes have reached the stage when they are regarded as being eligible to witness the first ceremonies. The sacred ground has been prepared, the shade erected and the objects completed. A sacred aura is now said to pervade the ritual ground, and the spiritual presence of the Djanggawul is assured.

The ceremonies which now begin are not seen completely by 796
those neophytes who are brought to the ground for the first time. 794
Years may pass before the complete series has been revealed to
them, and it is not as a rule until they have reached middle age 561
that they may take an active part in the ritual. Sometimes, however, younger men who show particular aptitude for religious discussion, dancing and singing, are accepted much earlier. There is always a need for young and energetic dancers and actors; and the older men, by allowing the younger men a degree of active participation, cement their adherence to the cult and so reinforce their own position. But even when younger men dance or act, older men are the organizers, and it is their duty to show the way to the other. They, the older men, are always acknowledged to possess greater knowledge of these matters, to be in a position to impart that knowledge. The older men, when they do dance or act, are almost invariably more proficient than the younger men; and although there is a tendency to-day to allow the younger men a greater measure of participation, it still takes years before a neophyte may be legitimately classified as an initiate.

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[1] The economic aspect of the *nara* rituals cannot, unfortunately, be dealt with here.

796 coming of the heavy rains of the wet season, which is viewed as a period of fertilization.[1]

b. The first ceremonies which take place after the arrival of the visitors are related mainly to totemic species, and do not usually involve use of the *rangga* emblems, which are nearly always retained [887] till later ceremonies. Older men organize all these rituals and instruct neophytes. When actors are not carrying out the traditional actions with sufficient skill, they often take over themselves to demonstrate just how it should be done. Both *dua* and *jiritja* neophytes are present. There is also a ceremonial shaving of facial [302] hair; older men leave short tufts or beards that symbolically represent the fringe of the *ngainmara* mat (= pubic hair of the Sisters), and attach red parakeet feathers, like the *rangga* pendant strings. (That is, as the *rangga* have feathered pendants attached to them, so also do men, because they approximate *rangga*—see above.)

c. In the main camp women and young children, and uninitiated youths, gather in a cleared place where they are covered with *ngainmara* mats. This symbolically represents the unborn children of the Djanggawul Sisters, lying in the uteri (or children in the *ngainmara*, or *rangga* hidden in the *ngainmara* or bags; *vide* myth and songs). The men dance from the sacred ground and surround them, carrying spears, womeras and sticks. Invocations are called, most of which refer to places where the Djanggawul Sisters gave birth to the people; they include also sacred 'inside' terms for the *ngainmara*, and for the sacred wells, billabongs or waterholes, for the *rangga* objects, and for the spears and sticks which the men carry. Ancestral names are called too, as well as the 'inside' names of various men taking part in the ritual. Surrounding the people covered by the *ngainmara* mats, the men poke them with their spears and sticks, and they wriggle in response.

The men then dance, calling out sacred *bugali* terms for childbirth, sexual intercourse and so on. Then the women, children and youths emerge from their *ngainmara*, and sit watching the men. Final calling of *bugali* completes the ceremony.

Interpreting this ritual, Aborigines say that the women crouching 796 under the mats are the children of the Sisters; they are 'poked' by 831 the men and wriggle 'like children in a womb'. The poking with spears and sticks signifies the Djanggawul Brother's penis, which causes the pregnancy of his Sisters and the subsequent 'wriggling' of the children. Alternatively, the spears and sticks symbolize the *rangga*, and the 'poking' their replacement in the *ngainmara*. The casting aside of the *ngainmara* represents the birth of the children of Djanggawul, or conversely, the removal of *rangga* (symbolically,

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[1] *Vide* W. L. Warner, *op. cit.*, p. 343.

Significance of the Djanggawul

796 535 The women dancing around the tree or forked stick represent the Djanggawul Sisters, and the tree is the *djuda* tree (of life-giving properties) and also *rangga* (that is, tree = forked-stick = *djuda rangga* = penis). They dance around, inserting their sacred *ganinjari rangga* yam sticks into the ground, so that water may gush forth (that is, symbolic coitus). The dancing of totemic species before the women at the tree or forked stick is like the dancing by the Djanggawul women in their own sacred shade, within the hearing of the men, but without their participation (*vide* myth). Later the men reverse this situation, and it is the men who dance in their own shade, while the Two Sisters go some distance away.

f. At this juncture there is a repetition of the *ngainmara* ritual, when all the women, children and youths are hidden under the mats. The men dance around them, carrying out the same actions as in section *e*, and the ritual has the same significance.

g. More totemic dances are carried out on the sacred ground, particularly in conjunction with *rangga* objects. Young neophytes see only the secondary *rangga* and totem dances; for all these are graded, and it depends on a man's age, his influence, and his degree of acceptance into the cult, whether he sees the really 'high' or most revered *rangga*. The 'high' *rangga* (particularly the elaborately decorated *djuda*, *djanda*, *ganinjari* and *mauwulan*) are lovingly handled, caressed and sung over by ceremonial leaders. Minor *rangga* and dancing viewed by neophytes bring to them simultaneously a series of associated tabus, relating to eating meat or flesh of the totems which they view, and obliges them to present gifts later on to the leaders. Neophytes, when watching these dances, are usually painted [302] with sacred clan patterns. 'They are painted like dead men, for their spirit must enter the eternal stream in which the Djanggawul are an ever-present influence'—an eternal stream, moreover, that has no limitations of time or space, all being merged into one: the Creative Beings themselves, the *wongar* Dreaming Spirits and totems, the ancestors, the recently dead and the living.

796 *h.* The next ritual, a group effort, should normally complete the *nara* rituals. This is the ceremonial bathing by men, women and children. In western Arnhem Land, in the *mareiin* rituals (counterpart of the *nara*) it is the terminating rite, but sometimes is omitted altogether. At Milingimbi it may be a terminating rite, or others may follow it. At Yirrkalla it may be omitted altogether, or used as a terminating rite, or it may be followed by further ceremonies. This ceremonial bathing may take place in a billabong, water-hole, river, or in the adjacent sea; that is, it does not seem to be important 796 whether fresh or salt water is used.

535 Men, representing geese or diving ducks, dance down to the

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Plate 8a: Naburdja at Yirrkalla; a wife of Djirin.

Plate 8b: Djirin at Yirrkalla; a son of Wonggu.

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[p. 25(E)]

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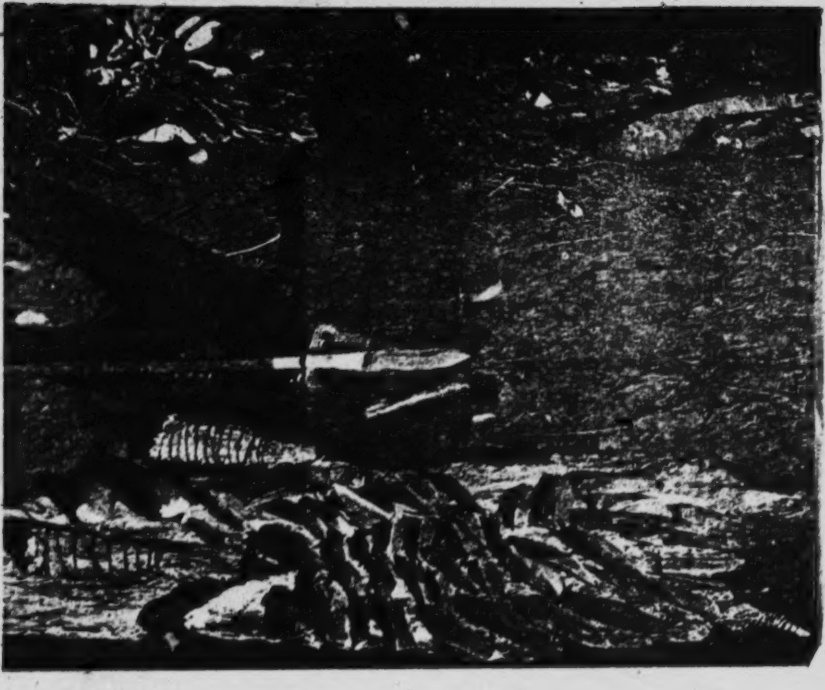

Plate 1. A craftsman at ŋillipidji, the far-famed stone spear quarry in the hinterland of Blue Mud Bay, examining flint spear heads called *ŋämbi*. These spear heads are encased in a special sheath of paperbark (*Melaleuca*) to which the name *djalk* is applied, which gives its name to *kumur djalk*, the quarter in the ceremonial exchange cycle from which most of these fine spear heads enter North and Central Arnhem Land. On the left are two bundles each containing about a dozen *ŋämbi*, neatly wrapped in paperbark, ready for transport inland for *wetj*, as goodwill presents for partners within the ceremonial exchange cycle. The smooth stone implements on the left are the hammer stones used by the spear maker to strike off flakes from a core of flint dug out of the quarry.

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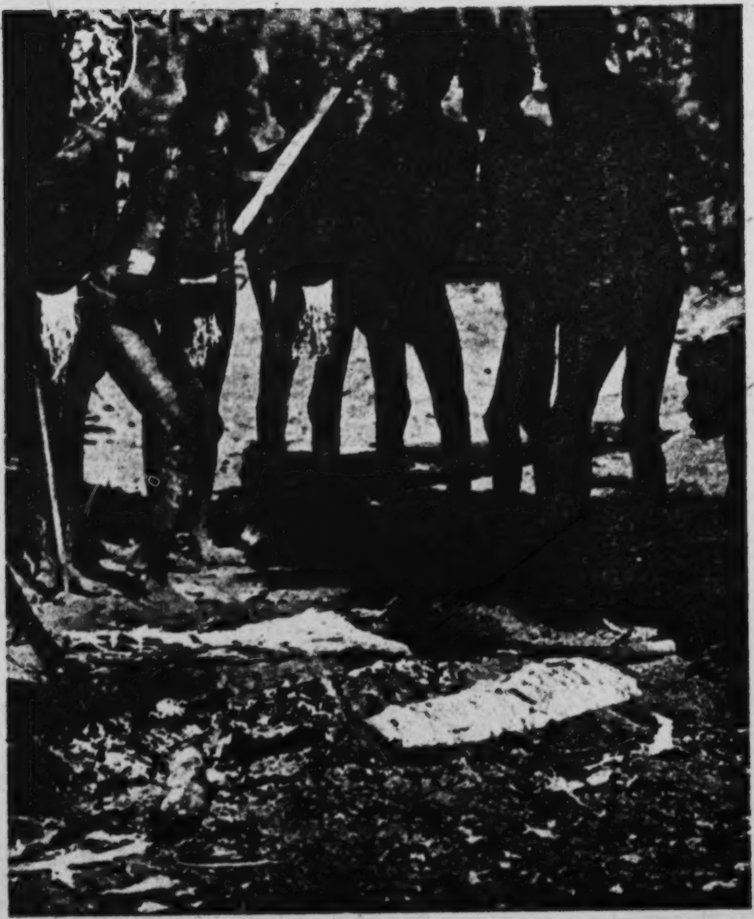

Plate 3. Ceremonial dedication of *ŋātu* (wrapped in tea tree bark), by the Dālkārramirri who recites over it the "big" or sacred names of the appropriate totem and so converts it into sacramental food.

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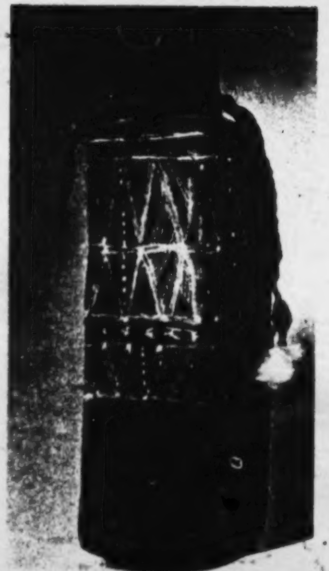

Plate 5. Replica or "*mälli*" of old square-faced bottle which has been elevated to the level of a ceremonial totem of Mildjiŋi clan, emphasising the social and material value of glass. The geometric design in polychrome represents clouds, highly conventionalised, reflected on the wet surface of the bottle washed up on the shore. The small figures around the centre are trepang or *bêche-de-mer* seen through clear water.

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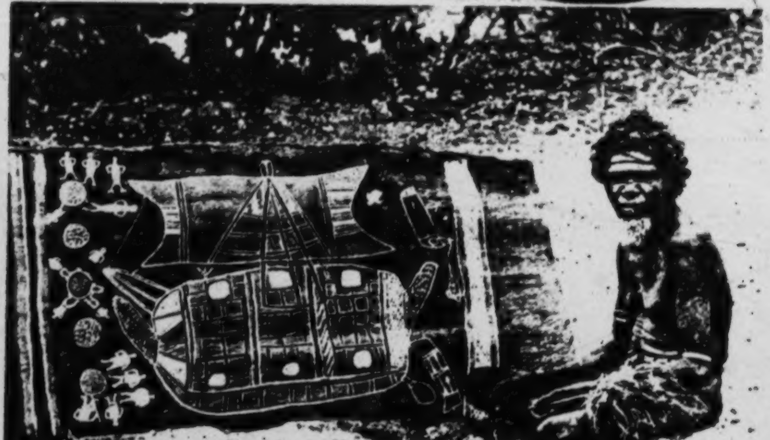
Plate 6. Wongo of Caledon Bay with a drawing in polychrome of a Macassar prau (*mitjäŋ*). These craft made regular visits to the coast of Arnhem Land and introduced *gerri* of a type called, collectively, "*muadäk*", which gave impetus to the ceremonial exchange cycle in this territory.



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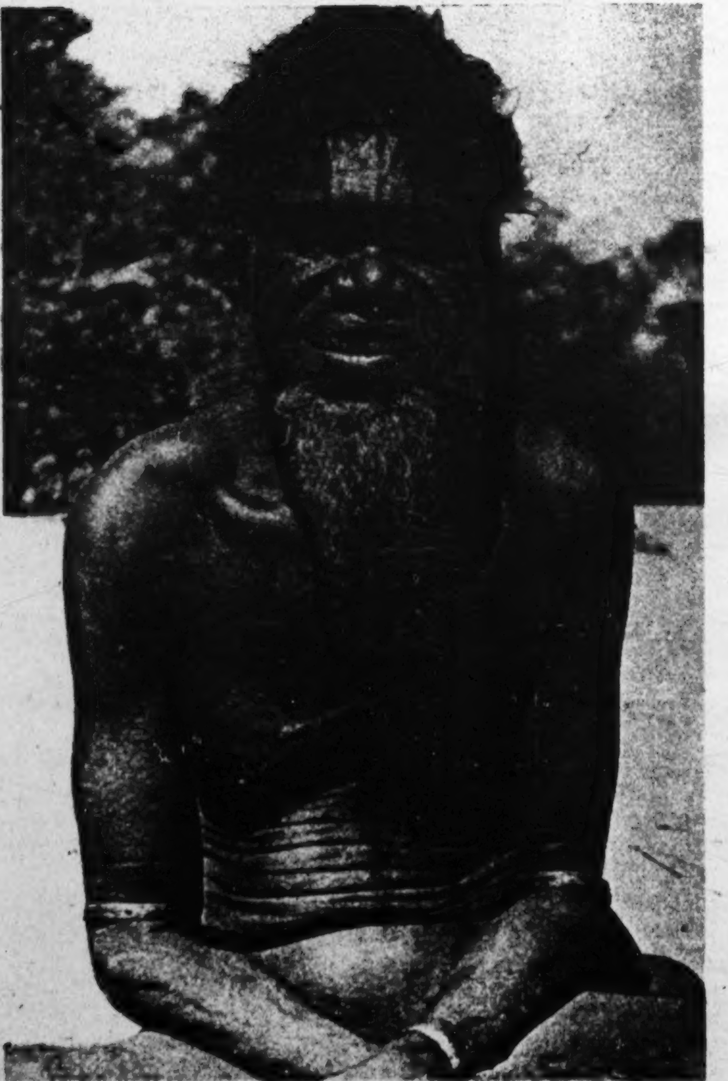

PORTRAIT OF A YULENGOR

After a prolonged vendetta, Wonggu was the last of his horde; now he is the father of fifty children

[Frontispiece- facing title page]

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A TYPICAL YULENGOR OF ARNHEM LAND

A pleasant, popular youth 'credited' with six or seven tribal killings

[facing p22]

775 763 hundred miles away, and it was thought that two Yirrkala men had been killed. The men who were with me immediately supported the tidings with the evidence of the fires in the bush, that had obviously been lit by the mali of the dead men, who had travelled the hundred miles to inform their friends.

775 Unexpected and distant smoke is at times considered to come from mali camp-fires. Without consciously contradicting the statement that mali are spirits, Yulengor complacently attribute unrecognizable footprints and other physical functions to them. An unknown canoe carried in on the tide or found on an island is accepted as having been used by mali when hunting or fishing.

562 881 Women have been assigned a very inferior place in aboriginal society, and it almost seems that they attend some ceremonies to focus attention on the men. But at least one ceremony is carried out entirely by women, at the coming of a first menstrual period.

A young wife, on recognizing the menarche, informs her mother, who then forbids her to leave her windbreak. Food and water are brought to her, and most likely she will [285] [302] curl up in her 'nganmurra', or cone-shaped mat, till she recovers. She is painted with two bands of clay below the shoulders, and red, yellow, and white vertical lines are made between these bands. Whenever menstruation recurs, 362 841 [302] women smear themselves with ochre and painstakingly abstain from eating men's food. Dugong, turtle, fish, and birds are regarded as men's food, and men are expected to [962] spear them; women content themselves with collecting yams, roots, and shellfish. With undisguised chagrin, a wife in this temporary quarantine will sit with her husband and his wives round the camp-fire, painted red and with her back turned, and will nibble a yam or shellfish whilst the family consume turtle, kangaroo, or fish.

576 your head, and his nose has a ridge like yours. I never noticed before just how much he resembles you, especially when he walks and swings his elbows. He's a splendid lad.'

Naratjin was amusing his small son beside his windbreak
in the cool of the day, when Maulin, a man from another
horde and moiety, spoke thus to him from the door of his
hut. Nomads are extraordinarily susceptible to praise
and readily respond to what we would call flattery. But
[431] Naratjin was delighted at what he had heard and set
about preparing the customary present of food for the
●[302] flatterer. He painted his son with coloured clay and decor-
[301] ated him with armlets and corslet of string and bird feathers,
and took him to visit Maulin. Looking up and seeing the
child in all his glory, the flatterer expressed his pleasure
before graciously accepting the present. At first I suspected
the flatterer of 'singing for his supper', but this somewhat
rare form of praise is genuine; it is spontaneously given in
public, and Yulengor who may be sitting near by courteously
lower their voices whilst the 'toast' is proposed.

576 A carefully preserved etiquette governs the distribution of
224 food. Choice parts of the kill, such as back legs and loins, go
[888] to the old men, before the rest is divided according to the
age and importance of those present. Generally the meal
proceeds peacefully, and each hunter receives his share with
a studied indifference which is under careful control, for the
greatest importance is attached to good food.

578 Quarrels can arise from the unfair distribution of food, as
224 when Jaua brought in a kangaroo to share with his brothers
784 and an old man of the Ngaimil horde, and the Ngaimil elder
quickly muttered an incantation over it, declaring that he
had thereby made it sacred to his Ngaimil totem. By his
act, the old man made it possible for him to eat the meat
but impossible for the youth who had killed the animal to

YULENGOR

224 I found their methods of kangaroo hunting to be the most
interesting of all, and I know the men would agree with this
estimate. Kangaroos are comparatively easy prey during the
wet season, when long grass covers the hillsides. A hunter
● [302] often smears white clay over his head, for clay is an effective
camouflage, and a man so daubed is scarcely distinguishable
from burnt-off tree stumps with their occasional unburnt
patches of white. The big hunt is carefully planned, and
there are intricate methods for driving, ambushing, and
trapping kangaroos when the rains are over and the herbage
is dry. Wide valleys or plains are selected for the hunt, and
[372] a patch is burnt out in the centre. Meanwhile, three or four
men run a wide circle of fire around the burnt-out area, and
hunters with spears and firesticks light many fires inside the
outer wall of smoke and gradually close in toward the centre,
leaving behind them a wall of roaring flames and blinding
smoke which terrifies and drives all the small animals,
reptiles, and kangaroos into the central death-trap where
they are speared.

225 Most Arnhem Land Yulengor hunt for sea-food both on
shore and from canoes. Metal has been filtering into the
[177] country for two centuries, and this has made hunting easier.
[411] Once they fished with pronged hardwood spears and made
wooden harpoons for the soft-skinned green turtle, dugong,
[325] and porpoise, but they now grind metal harpoons that are
able to pierce even the hard carapace of the shell-back
turtle. For turtle hunting, a harpoon is tied to bush rope and
[411] fitted into the end of a long spear haft, and when a turtle is
sighted on the surface the canoe is paddled quietly toward
it with a man standing in the bow ready for the strike.

Dugong are hunted at night, and canoes skim around the
sea-grass feeding-grounds till an animal is sighted and harpooned.
The flesh resembles pork, and the animals sometimes
measure up to twelve feet in length and weigh half a
136 ton. A dugong suckles her calf while clasping it to her with

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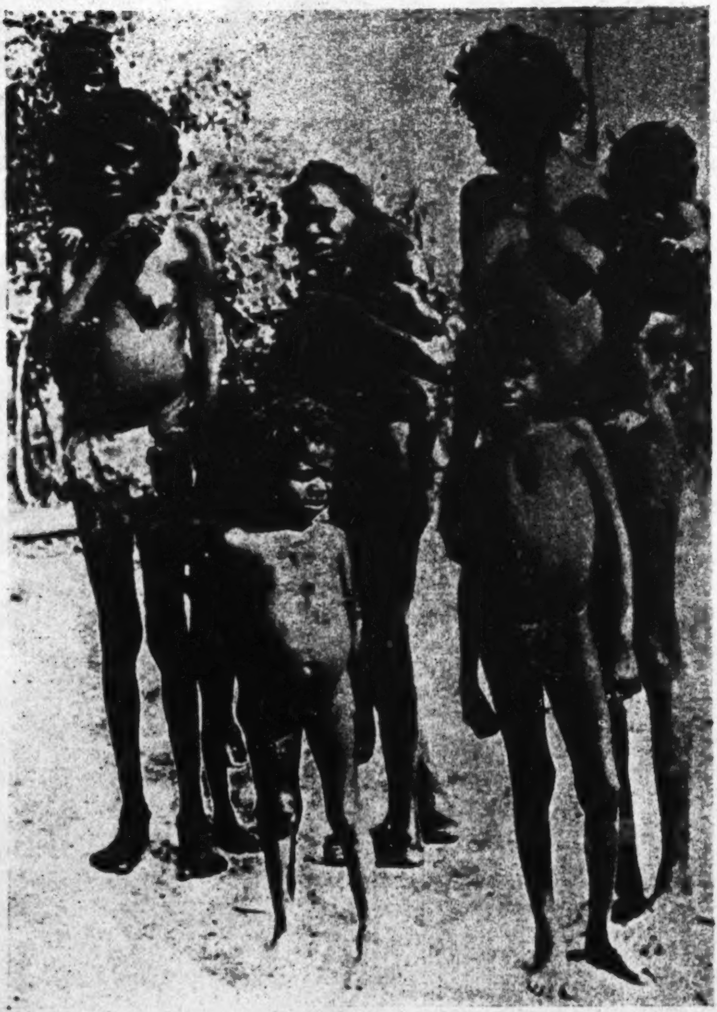

FOOD GATHERERS

Women and children setting out to search for food

[facing p 71]

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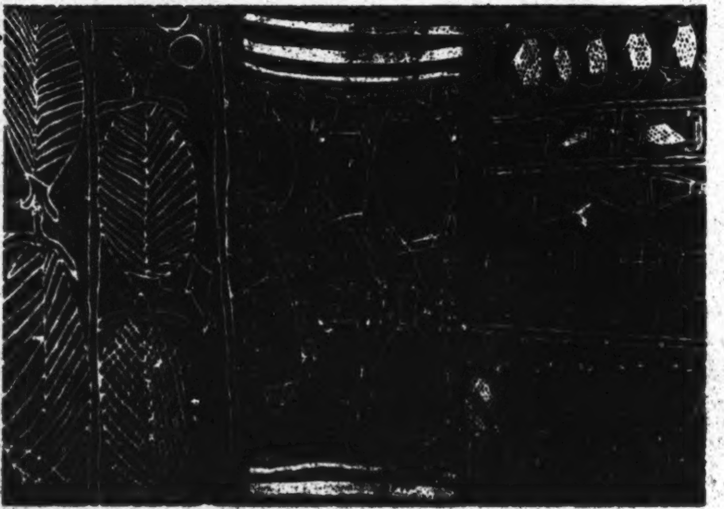

BARK PAINTINGS

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A WITCH DOCTOR
or '[illegible]'

[facing p87]

cattle to Yirrkala it was not long before their likeness too 532
appeared on bark sheets.

I saw little-known caves on the Wessel Islands, in which totemic myths had been painted side by side with Japanese pearlers, Macassar proas, and odd European wanderers. Rock paintings are common in many parts of Australia, except in Arnhem Land where outcrops of rock are so rare that only three lots of rock paintings have been found. Here the primitive artist uses a bark sheet, which in itself indicates some measure of aesthetic impulse, for it is not easily obtained and has no permanence.

The Serpent in sacred myths is spiritually present in the 778
'maraian' or log painted with totemic symbols. For ceremonies, 531
the maraian is kept in a bush shelter deep in the 796
scrub, and initiated men guard it till the moment arrives
for its dramatic elevation. They push their way through the
shelter toward the over-awed initiates, and grovel, shudder,
squirm, and roll over and over with strained and contorted
faces, as if overcome by dread of the long maraian so carefully
borne across their bodies. Wriggling along in the rear,
the leader of the ceremony blows through the maraian and
produces the low booming sound so feared by women and
children and believed to be the voice of the Serpent.

Designs on maraian are made from coloured clays, 386
string, and feathers. Hundreds of yards of string are wound 531
on some of them, and the effect is enhanced by weaving [778]
into it white birds'-down, red and green parrots' feathers, [237]
or opossum fur. Red ochre-stone from a totem centre on
Elcho Island is traded for hundreds of miles, and is in demand [438]
because of a greasy property which makes it adhere to [302]
the skin. Ordinary clay-paints crack and peel, but this
is overcome by crushing orchid stems and smearing the [824]
sticky juice over the body before applying the paint.
Participants in ceremonies decorate themselves with totemic 531
designs, and glue long lines of white birds'-down on their 301

531 bodies. This glue is obtained by cutting a vein in the arm,
301 painting the blood on the skin and adding feathers before
386 it congeals. Paint brushes are made from human hair or
413 from twigs.

I remember watching Wonggu mix his colours in shells, flatten his bark, and prepare his orchid gum. Only then did he realize that he needed a brush, so he leaned over and cut a tuft of hair from his son's head, bound it to a twig and commenced his mural.

532 A well-known anthropologist stayed with us at Yirrkala
and obtained a big selection of aboriginal arts and crafts
[439] and bark paintings. He paid the Yulengor well, and they
gave full play to their ingenuity, manufacturing such things
[411] as bows and arrows which, incidentally, are not used by
aborigines. I saw several paintings in the collection in the usual red, yellow, white, and black, together with an additional vivid blue. Not having seen blue before, I could not account for it till later in the day my wife chanced to remark that several of her blue-bags had disappeared.

304 Body decorations are made by mutilating the skin, and
one pleasing mutilation resembles a string of beads on a woman's breast, where each bead is a raised nodule of flesh about the size of a pea. Women and girls sear a pattern on the skin with firesticks, and rub pipeclay into the wound; a more common practice is to cut the marks into the flesh before filling them with clay. For reasons of vanity and custom, a woman has a few cicatrices across her hips, and possibly on her shoulders, and in the event of sorrow she
adds some to her midriff. If a brother should die, a sister
[965] paints horizontal lines across the backs of her legs below the
[302] knees, and when his bones are being collected she sub-
stitutes gashes for her clay markings.

It was explained that a man gets a friend to cut the customary perpendicular lines from his shoulder and halfway to his elbow, but he himself makes the more important

YULENGOR

828 Stone Age man believes that his emotions are seated in
827 his stomach, and his names for anger, fear, jealousy, and the rest, are descriptive of the changes that take place in the stomach in generating emotion. They make no distinction between anger, indignation, and jealousy; they are known as 'ngoi-mari-buna' ('ngoi' referring to underneath or the foundation), meaning the stomach boils.

[578] A man who refuses to support his relative in a quarrel is called 'ngoi kapumiri'; that is, he has a watery stomach (or as we should say in English 'no guts').

Pleasure, joy, and happiness are dependent on the stomach, which subsides into a peaceful calm on hearing welcome news. It was explained that when a man sees an enemy approaching, his stomach boils and his anger rises, but if the enemy says he has come to make peace, the man's anger disappears and his stomach subsides into a flat calm 'like the sea after a storm'; he has 'the wind taken out of his sails'.

Sorrow and regret also rise from the stomach. Fear comes from the same source, and rises and swells in the throat; Stone Age man also knows something about his 'heart in his mouth'.

[593] Love is dependent on the stomach, and the affection of a father for his son, or the devotion of mothers for their children, boils from the depths. I was reminded of the ageless biblical story of Joseph's meeting his treacherous half-brothers after many years; he was speechless, 'For his bowels did yearn for his (youngest) brother'.

152 It has often been suggested that aborigines have not the same highly developed affection for each other as white people, but nothing could be farther from the truth. Devotion is genuine, and intimate, and is openly expressed on scores of occasions which in a white community would call for little more than passing sympathy. The first initiation
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[302] in a boy's life reaches its climax in circumcision, when widespread emotion is expressed. Women, girls, and children

of the hordes sit apprehensively under shady trees whilst the 304 881
men paint intricate totemic designs on the initiates. More [302]
often than not several hordes meet for the occasion, and all
the boys between eight and ten years of age are prepared by [628]
relatives. Armlets, dilly-bags and trinkets are hung around [301]
their necks for decorative purposes, and sometimes they
carry a knife or steel tomahawk. When their moment [411]
arrives, the boys are brought to the ceremonial ground, and
the men dance and sing with increasing emotion, till at last
they bunch together and with kindly reluctant movements
force each boy into the arms of a crouching man who supports
and holds him. Women relatives close in and dance
around the tightly packed circle and wail in rising agitation,
others gash their heads, and girl playmates of the initiates
cry amongst the trees and cut their breasts with sharp shells.
An invitation is often extended to a visiting Yulengor to [574]
perform the actual operation, which is frequently prolonged
by the use of a stone knife or spearhead. The loud purposeful [152]
calls of the men seldom drown the cries of the victim. It is
then that a wave of emotion sweeps over the entire camp.

When a nomad is sick the relatives will crouch tightly 758
around him, and their excessively mournful sympathy is 152
conducive to moans and vapours from the patient. Eye-rolling
and groans will accompany even simple sprains and
abdominal pains and inspire sympathetic cries and wails.
At the approach of death, the next of kin draw near pathetically 763
brushing flies from the patient, attempting to sustain 758
warmth with sheets of paper-bark, but unwittingly stifling 152
him in a turgid atmosphere. There are wails and shrieks
if continuous movement is not seen from some part of the
body. Commotion at death is indescribable; women
deliberately hurl themselves on the ground with loud cries,
and they wail loudly and tremulously as they stab their
heads with sharp stones and shells.

Egyptians preserved mummified bodies in pyramids, 000

821 the clouds together and pushing the wind before them in the
825 way that water spreads out before a rolling stone. As he
789 labours the snake weeps copiously and his tears fall as rain. If a snake is not available for rain-making, a bundle of grass may be tied together and submerged in a waterhole. Instructions are sung to this before its immersion, whereupon
[776] the great Spirit who made the world and at times revealed himself through the mythical serpent, assumes the functions of the missing earthly reptile and sends the rain.

In west Arnhem Land another mythological serpent
[184] sends rain in response to aboriginal wizardry. He shows himself as the rainbow, and thunder is the rumbling of his body as he turns over to urinate in the form of rain. To impress his admirers with his strength, Umbij hits two stones together till they flash fiery lightning.

821 If an old man is offended at some slight in the wet season
789 he will threaten to send a storm. All day Munju had been
888 mumbling and scowling at the door of his shelter, but his temper improved considerably toward sundown as nimbus clouds gathered to the accompaniment of distant thunder. That night a fierce tropical storm swept over the island, trees were struck by lightning, thunder crashed, and the wind howled as it levelled trees and shelters. In the sparkling stillness of the following dawn, the sun rose over a subdued camp, where Munju's honour had been vindicated, and he accepted the homage of his contemporaries. Also in the
● [302] stormy wet season I heard a noisy termagant at Yirrkala objecting to young women cutting their hair, and when they
[578] persisted she threatened to call up a storm. That night we had heavy rain and a strong wind, and next day old Bamaja's exploit was referred to in subdued tones. Like most rainmakers she was aged, and having lived in the open air for sixty years with no other shelter than a sheet of bark, she knew her weather and could make a fairly accurate forecast.

774 789 765 accompanies the maiyabala to assist in locating and killing the murderer. Maiyabala are often carried in the mouth, in totemic dilly-bags, or rolled in bees wax and tied round the neck. They give extra strength and skill to the wearers and guide them to the enemy, who, in turn, is made unwary and tired.

765 628 Raiwola told me that he had accepted such a maiyabala but for years his vow remained unfulfilled. Then one day after a long kangaroo hunt in the rain he stood warming himself by a fire with several other men, amongst whom chanced to be the killer of his relative. Without a word Raiwola plunged his spear into him, and in reply to the astounded questions of the huntsmen, he produced his maiyabala as proof that it had been done in settlement of the old debt.

726 628 It is rarely left to one man to avenge a death, for in the heat of emotion that follows a killing the relatives go in a body to exact vengeance. Killing-parties are known as [201] 'merringor', and their appropriate sign in the sign-language is wiping the open palm down over the face to suggest their ruthlessness in wiping out men, women, and children. In feverish passion, and with maiyabala and totemic dilly-bags slung from their necks, merringor lose all fear and travel relentlessly till they are lean and exhausted. They daub their [302] bodies with white clay, a practice which plainly indicates their intentions, they creep silently on their enemies, and with wild yells they hurl their spears into the sleeping groups. Such raids are seldom bloodless, and more deaths result from these attacks than from all other forms of violence.

CHAPTER FOURTEEN

Burial Rites and Cannibalism

DEATH and burial customs are much the same from one end 184
of Arnhem Land to the other. Bodies are artistically painted 764
and decorated before they are buried or exposed on plat- 765
forms or in trees. Later the bones are collected and hoarded
by relatives till they feel disposed to deposit them in decor-
ated burial posts. In one district bones are removed from the
body and parts of the flesh are eaten in an effort to form a [266]
link with the dead. This ceremonial cannibalism is confined
to three or four hordes, but all Arnhem Land nomads
attempt to communicate with their dead and call on them [769]
for assistance.

Mau's young son slipped from an overhanging tree, and 761
in falling into the water struck his head on a canoe. No one
saw the accident and he was not missed till his body drifted
downstream to the beach. Two youths carried the corpse [775]
to the camp, but by coming into contact with it they had
attracted its spirit or 'mali', which lodged in their skin.
Before they dared to eat any food they must needs free [262]
themselves from the ghost by smearing red-ochre on their [301]
arms. [783]

That night the entire camp of several inter-related hordes 764
combined in a ceremony conducted by the child's grand- 775
father. Alternately he wailed and sang a prayer to the spirit of his dead brother, the child's tribal grandfather, asking him to come and take the young spirit to the spirit world of 'Buralkor'. The camp set about preventing the spirit or mali from haunting them, and drove it from the camp by switching their bodies with heated leafy twigs.

765 horde had for the deceased. In decimated hordes, and in the case of aged and unwanted wives, I have known bodies to be left in the ground and no attempt made to remove them.

775 Until bones have been collected and a mother is
783 'purified' she remains smeared with red-ochre and leads an
765 inactive life. Relatives feed her and carry water from the
[302] well so that she will not desecrate it, for her child's ghost
hovers near her and may attach itself to anything she handles. Similarly the relative who dismembers the body is tabu because of the ghost lodging in his skin, and he also is barred from waterholes and from feeding himself and becomes dependent on the hospitality of the family of the corpse. They are expected to treat him well even to the extent of
[431] making presents in return for the favour he has done
them in attending to the corpse and running the risk of absorbing the ghost. Consequently there is no difficulty in getting 'grandsons' to run these risks, and the father not infrequently declines several offers and even limits the number of morticians to two or three.

783 This final purification ceremony is similar to the 'mum-
765 bakuta' described in Chapter 5. Food is deposited in a
[264] totemic well conveniently scooped in the sand, and from this
a ceremonial meal is eaten by the victims of the tabu and by certain near relatives. Waste food is piled into the well and burnt, to prevent dingoes disturbing it, and the tabu is finally lifted and the ghost removed when the relatives heat leafy twigs in a fire and switch their bodies. Alternatively, water or sand may be poured over the 'unclean' as they stand in the totemic well and smear themselves with red-ochre.

761 All deaths are regarded with a certain amount of suspicion,
754 but the death of an active warrior is always attributed to
sorcery. In such case the body is left in the ground for a very
765 [766] short time before the bones are collected. Smaller ones are

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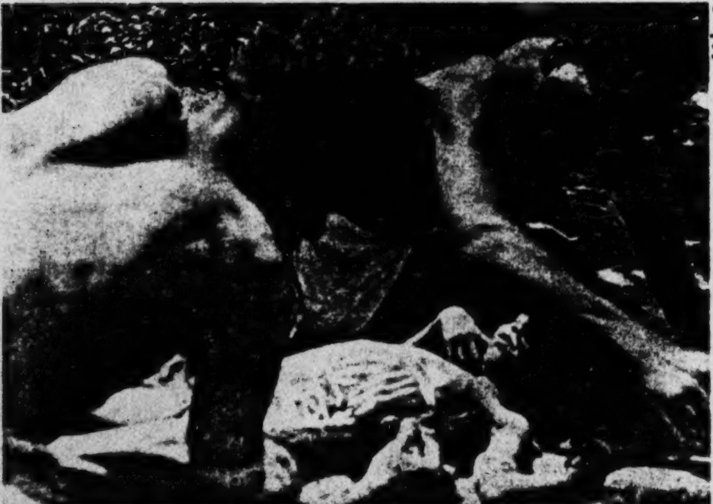
HEAD CUTTING FOR SORROW OR JOY

Mothers 'rejoicing' for sons they had thought dead



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INITIATION CEREMONY

Painting a boy for his initiation-circumcision

[facing p 134]